MUSIC IN THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH: A STUDY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT IN NORWAY AND ITS TRANSFER TO AMERICA, 1825-1917

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By
alling
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Preface

No history of the use of music in the Norwegian Lutheran church exists. This is true both for the Lutheran church in Norway and for the Lutheran church among the Norwegians in America. This dissertation is aimed at making a documentary study of the sources of music among the Norwegian Lutherans in America. Since the music used here was so much of a piece with that used in Norway, a good deal of space is devoted to a recounting of what happened there.

In Norway the chief work on the subject has been done by O. M. Sandvik. His book, Norsk Koralhistorie (Oslo, 1930), deals with the hymn tunes of the Norwegian church. His Gregoriansk Sang (Oslo, 1945) has some chapters that discuss the influence of Gregorian chant on the Norwegian liturgy. In other books and articles he also touches on the subject of music in the church. Otherwise, information on music in the Norwegian church has to be gleaned from a variety of sources.

Among Norwegian-Americans no thorough study has yet been made. P. M. Glasoe has written two articles which give general information on church music. The first is "The Landstad-Lindeman Hymn Book," a pamphlet in The

Lutheran Church. A Series of Occasional Papers of General Interest to the Entire Lutheran Church, Vol. I, No. 9 (October, 1938). The second is "A Singing Church," a chapter in Studies and Records XIII (Northfield, Minn.; Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1943), pp. 92-107. L. N. Field, in Norsemen Found a Church, ed. J. C. K. Preus (Minneapolis, 1953), has written a chapter, called "Our Heritage of Music." This chapter deals specifically with the music in only one of the three Norwegian-American synods, the Norwegian Synod. Again, the purpose is a survey of music in the church, not a thoroughgoing study.

Two recent doctoral dissertations in the area of Norwegian-American music are Carl T. Hjortsvang's "Scandinavian Contributions to American Sacred Music" (Union Theological Seminary, 1951) and Olaf E. Eidbo's "Songs of the Norwegian Folk in Culture and Education in the United States" (University of North Dakota, 1956). Hjortsvang's study takes in all the Scandinavian countries and their contributions to the American scene. The scope is so broad that the study suffers from too many generalities. It is useful for a survey, but specific information must be accepted with some caution because he has relied too much on secondary sources. Eidbo's thesis touches only briefly on the music of the church. The thesis is unreliable as a source for specific information, and so general otherwise as to be unsatisfactory as a research tool in the field of Norwegian-American music.

The present study has been based, insofar as it was possible, on primary sources. The method has been to study the principal publications, especially the actual hymn, chorale and liturgical books, which have figured in the history of music in the Norwegian Lutheran church, to investigate the circumstances surrounding their publication, and from this information to trace the musical development within the church. The study is bounded by the years 1825 and 1917. The year 1825 is generally given for the start of the mass migrations of Norwegians to America. The year 1917 saw the formation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, the beginning of a specifically American church, emerging from the transplanted Norwegian immigrant churches. The years between produced many efforts, in published form and otherwise, to meet the growing, changing musical needs in the church. These efforts culminated in the publication in 1913 of The Lutheran Hymnary, the common English hymnal which was produced jointly by the three uniting synods of 1917, serving as a prelude to the union, and as the chief musical handbook of the new church after the union. A study of the Hymnary is not included in this thesis.

Since it was necessary for the study to make an investigation of post-Reformation liturgical and musical books in Denmark and Norway, the information gathered from this investigation has been incorporated into the thesis, either in the body of the text or in the appendix. Also, for the sake of the student who might be interested in pursuing this study further, the forewords to several key books have been included in the appendix, in facsimile and in translation.

Although it goes beyond the limits set for the dissertation, a discussion of The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church, published in 1922, has been included to round out the story of Ludvig M. Lindeman's book of chant, Norsk Messebog.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance and advice which he has received at various times in the course of his study from the following people: Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, Dean Emeritus of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota; Dr. L. N. Field, Professor of Practical Theology, Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota; Mr. Øystein Gaukstad, Music Librarian of the University Library, Oslo, Norway; Mr. Børre Qvamme, of the newspaper, Morgenbladet, Oslo, Norway; Miss Marie

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CHAPTER I

THE NORWEGIAN SCENE--POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND MUSICAL

Introduction

In February 1825, Waldemar Thrane's opera, Fjeldeventyret, a syngespil in three acts, was performed in Oslo (then called Christiania[1])[2] Modern Norwegian music dates itself from this work because it was the first work of any lasting value that consciously employed musical motives which were considered characteristically Norwegian.[3]

In July of the same year a small sloop, called

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1. Oslo, the capital city of Norway, was called Christiania, later Kristiania, until the third decade of the twentieth century, when the ancient name was restored. In this study the city is called Oslo, except in direct quotations and bibliographical documentation.

2. It was given twice, on Feb. 9 and 14. H. A. Bjerregaard, Fjeldeventyret, ed. Øyvind Anker (Oslo, 1949), p. 127. The date usually given for Fjeldeventyret in histories and references is 1824. This, however, is only the date for the publication of Bjerregaard's text. In his notes Anker discusses in some detail the questions that have surrounded the opera.

3. Liv Greni, "Rikard Nordraak, 1842-1942", Norsk Musikkgranskning Årbok 1941, ed. O. M. Sandvik (Oslo, 1942), p. 8.

"Restaurationen", set sail from the port of Stavanger on the southwest coast of Norway, bound for New York with fifty-two people on board. This event marks the beginning of the wave of emigration from Norway to America which, in the course of one hundred years, was to deposit no fewer than three quarters of a million Norwegians in the United States.[4]

The two events had nothing in common except the year in which they occurred. Each, however, caused comment in its own way--Fjeldeventyret (The Mountain Tale) because of its folk idiom in the mountain scenes which used bold, unusual intervals such as a leap of the major seventh in the cattle calls[5]; and the sloop, "Restaurationen", because, in the words of the New York Daily Advertiser of October 15, 1825, "the appearance of such a party of strangers, coming from so distant a country, and in a

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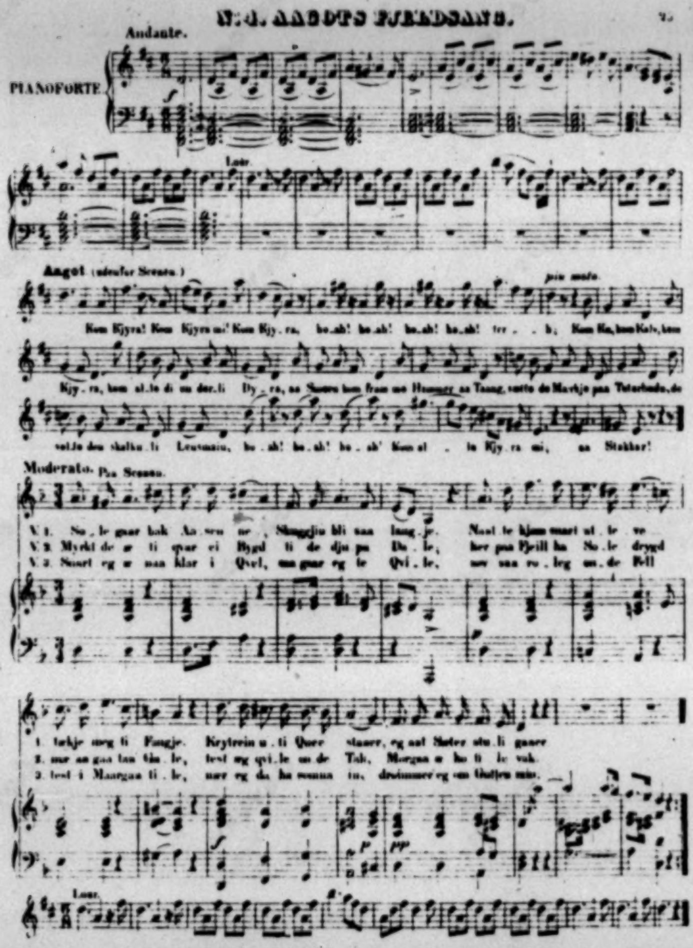
4. Theodore C. Blegen Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860 (Northfield, Minnesota, 1931), p. 24, and Carlton C. Qualey, Norwegian Settlement in the United States (Northfield, Minnesota, 1938), p. 213. Dr. Blegen's books, the one above and the second volume in his study of the Norwegian migration, called Norwegian Migration to America. The American Transition (1940) are the most authoritative works on the subject.

5. This is in vivid contrast to the opera as a whole, which is written otherwise in the contemporary European idiom. See "Aagot's Fjeldsang", Plate I.

PLATE I

flinkt, men et Andet, *at føre an*, her især, hvor denne Function tillige indbefatter Instructeuren. og hertil udfordres en mere udbredt Musikkundskab og et mere skjærpet Øre. end man med Billighed kan vente hos Thøstie.



Aagots Fjeldsang av Waldemar Thrane.

Endskjønt yngre af Aar, har Bull dog allerede godtgjort, at han endog i den Green av Kunster (om Obligat Spil ville vi ikke engang tale) ikke længer er nogen blot Begynder, og denne unge Mand maa, hvis han kun nogenlunde lader det nødvendige Studium af Musik-Theorie holde Skridt med den overordentlige Fremgang, hans overordentlige Anlæg for Kunsten i Forening med en *Lundholms* Veiledning ligefra Barnsben af, har ladet ham gjøre i Executioner, med Tiden ufeilbar opnaa et saa saare hoit Standpunkt i dette Fag — medens dog alt, hvad Thøstie endnu i denne Henseende nemlig som Anfører, har udrettet, ikke kan fortjene Navn af mere end Forsog". Indsenderne finder det rimelig, at Thøstie under Bulls fravær overtar posten. At han nødig gir slip paa stillingen, er jo ogsaa begripelig, især paa grund av gagen. Men „Bull skal virkelig, siges der, have tilbudt sig igjen at overtage Anførerbestillingen, gratis endog, hvis det behøvedes, men af Direktionen være blevet henvist til Thostie. At T. et Øieblik længere skulde onske at agere Anfører, naar *en Bull* staar færdig til at afløse ham, kunde vi umulig forestille os, uden først aldeles at forandre vor gode Mening om denne unge Mands Beskedenhed og hans Forstand. Vi haabe saaledes, det nu maa staa i Direktionens Magt at igjenskaffe os saavelsom Orchestret Hr. Bull, hvis kraft- og sjælfulde Foredrag i forrige Aar ofte ydede os ligesaa interessante Øieblikke som dem der præsteredes paa Scenen og hvem vi derfor iaar ret ugjerne har savnet, ikke at tale om, at det vilde være beklagelig, om et saadant Subject som Bull fremdeles skulde savne denne Anledning til Uddannelse. *To Abonnenter*".

vessel of such a size apparently ill-calculated for a voyage across the Atlantic, could not but excite an unusual degree of interest".[6]

Although these two occurrences had nothing directly in common, the year 1825 underlines the not unimportant fact that the conscious, national cultivation of music in Norway is of a relatively recent origin, and that it arose and grew in the homeland simultaneously with the great folk migration which carried its influence to the shores of the new land in the west.

Since nineteenth century Norway--with its political upheavals, its economic and social struggles, its awakening to national self-recognition--was the crucible in which Norwegian music took shape, and since a knowledge of these developments affords a basis for an understanding of the musical developments within the church, a brief review of what occurred in Norway between 1800 and 1900 will be given in this chapter. Specifically, the political

6. For a reprint of the story, see Qualey, op. cit., p. 2. In point of fact, "Restaurationen" had so many passengers in proportion to her size that she breached an American law which stated in exact terms the allowable ratio of passengers to tonnage. The story of her impounding and eventual release through the presidential pardon of John Quincy Adams is told in the appendix to Blegen's second volume.

happenings will be traced, then in somewhat more detail, the growth of musical life. It is important to understand the dominant role which Norway's new independence played in her emerging musical expression. The emphasis on nationalism put a stamp on her music which was discernible not only in Norway but also in America among the Norwegian immigrants, who transmitted it to the evolving culture of that country.

1. Political Backdrop

When the fifty-two "sloopers" departed from Stavanger, Norway was only in her eleventh year of independence--an independence which was limited by the fact that she shared her king and her foreign office with neighboring Sweden. Prior to the year 1814 Norway had been under the domination of Denmark for more than four hundred years. During this time the public officials were either Danish, or Norwegians who had been educated and trained in Denmark. Copenhagen was the seat of political authority and the mecca for any Norwegian of intellectual or artistic gifts who wanted to further himself. The affairs of the church were directed from Copenhagen. Norway, in fact, occupied no more than a provincial status, although in theory she was to have enjoyed equality with Denmark.[7] However, a redeeming feature of the union was the fact that the center of authority was so far removed from the Norwegian people that they actually had a great deal of personal freedom. This served to stimulate the love of liberty and the sense of independence and self-reliance which had been typical of the Norwegians, and it helped to develop a society in which inequalities were less marked than in many other countries. These characteristics were to show to good advantage in the events which culminated in the writing of Norway's con--stitution in 1814.[8] They were also to typify the outlook and industry of the emigrants who later broke with land, home and tradition and fared westward to put up with uncertainty and hardship while they made the American prairie habitable, fought slavery in the Civil War and, in general, championed the twin causes of justice and equality.

The closing decades of the eighteenth century and the dawn of the nineteenth witnessed increasing patriotic and nationalistic sentiment. There was growing distaste for political ties to any country, loud demands for more self-government, a national bank, a Norwegian university.[9] In this atmosphere the Treaty of Kiel, signed on January 14, 1814, in which Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden, acted like a spark to fire the national purpose in Norway. The Norwegians had not been consulted beforehand by either Denmark or Sweden. They felt insulted and refused to consider the treaty binding upon them.[10] Their leaders therefore decided to pursue an independent course and write their own constitution. This they did, and on the seventeenth of May, 1814, the new constitution was adopted. This was a vital document because it provided a sound foundation for the future growth of the country.

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[7] Karen Larsen, A History of Norway (New York, 1950), p. 219.

[8] Ibid., pp. 373-374.

The Swedish king, in the meanwhile, had proceeded with his plans to take over the country. He was of the opinion that there would be no serious difficulties. Furthermore, his position was strengthened by the existence in Norway of a small group of influential people who, although dedicated to ideals of freedom, felt that Norway would, in the long run, benefit by a union with Sweden.[11] At this particular juncture Norway was in no condition whatsoever to fight a war. She was economically destitute, largely as a result of her unfortunate liaison with Denmark and the consequent stifling of her commerce by the British, who were allied with Denmark's opponents in the Napoleonic wars.[12] However, the ire of the people had been aroused and when the Swedes marched their troops into Norway, they were opposed by force of arms. The opposition, from a military point of view, was not sufficient to prevent the Swedes from taking over. But it served to give the Swedish king an indication of the temper of the Norwegian people. And, since neither he nor the Norwegian leader had a real desire for a war between the two peoples, and because he sensed a rising tide of pro-Norwegian sentiment among his own allies, he resolved to settle the issue as quickly as possible. Accordingly, an agreement was reached in which Norway was allowed to retain her constitution, making some adjustments to allow for the union of the two countries. In return, the Norwegians agreed to recognize the Swedish king.

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[9] Ibid, p. 343 ff.

[10] Knut Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People II (New York, 1915), p. 417.

[11] Larsen, op. cit., p. 375.

Although Norway had now won the right to conduct her domestic affairs, her foreign policy was still carried on from Stockholm. As the nineteenth century progressed

12. Ibid., p. 369.

this proved to be a source of increasing irritation to the Norwegians, who felt that they were earning their rightful place in the world and ought to be able to speak on equal terms with other nations. The issue finally came to a head, and in 1905 the union with Sweden was dissolved peacefully and Norway achieved full autonomy.

By standing firm in 1814 on their right to determine their own national destiny the Norwegians had secured control of their affairs. Furthermore, the constitution and the events surrounding it had worked a rebirth in the nation which laid a solid foundation for democratic growth and which resulted in a surge of national feeling that was to characterize Norwegian life and thought throughout the century.

2. Music in Norway up to 1825

Music in Norway in the century preceding the events just described has been summed up by Gerhard Schjelderup in one word--*selskapsmusikken*--its most distinguishing trait being "its complete lack of any national originality."[13] The national political stirrings which characterized the latter part of the eighteenth century found some expression in music, but it did not get above the level of what Schjelderup labels "noisy hurrah-patriotism".[14]

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[13] Gerhard Schjelderup, "Selskapsmusikken," *Norges Musikhistorie* I, ed. O. M. Sandvik and Gerhard Schjelderup (Kristiania, 1921), pp. 44 and 46. *Selskapsmusikken*, literally, "society music," is

Aside from a rich bonde culture, Norway had very little culture of any sort at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[15] Professional musicians consisted of the church organist and cantor. Non-church music was

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13. (cont.) probably best translated by the phrase, "music for entertainment". It was conducted more or less formally in the homes of the wealthy, and was a common form of music making elsewhere in Europe as well.
The term, "national originality", was to become the yardstick against which all of the later musical efforts of the nineteenth century were to be measured. The criterion for the successful Norwegian musician was whether or not he could show enough independence from European art music to give his work a distinctively Norwegian cast. This obtained, of course, mainly with regard to composers.

[14] Ibid., p. 44. Because of its frequent appearance as a reference, the two volumes of Norges Musikhistorie will hereafter be abbreviated to NM, I or II.

[15] The word bonde is sometimes translated "peasant". But this is not strictly accurate since the bonde was a freeholder. Actually, the bønder constituted a sort of country aristocracy. They were not usually wealthy, but were independent and had a culture of their own which was not affected appreciably by the four hundred year Danish rule. The reader who may be interested in more information about the bønder than is given in most histories is referred to Oscar Albert Johnsen, Norges Bønder: Utsyn over den norske Bondestands Historie (Kristiania, 1919) and K. Visted, Vår gamle Bondekultur (Kristiania, 1908).

handled by a stadsmusikus, whose duties encompassed arranging occasional concerts by instrumentalists and overseeing musical activities in town and surrounding countryside, including weddings, funerals, private parties and the like. According to their individual propensities for self-advancement they did their best to extend their hegemony over the musical affairs of the community, and the community suffered or prospered musically depending on the musical gifts of the local stadsmusikus. The students in the local Latin school, which was attached to the cathedral, gave choral performances of oratorios and passions. Drummers, pipers and trumpeters from the military units took part in public musical performances. The lack of established instrumental organizations, which could nourish gifted native Norwegian talent, such as those which existed elsewhere in Europe, was due to the fact that Norway never had a landed, wealthy aristocracy. For four hundred years she had not even had her own royal court, which might have furnished the opportunity for the flowering of native talent.

During the eighteenth century the general economy of the country improved. Wealth gravitated into the hands of a few families such as the Bernt Ankers, James Collets, Paul Thranes, and it became popular to have weekend and vacation--especially Christmas--parties at country estates.

Those invited were expected to come prepared to provide part of the entertainment, usually in dramatic or musical form. These occasions reflected a certain degree of re--finement but still treated music as essentially a diversion. The time when music would be generally regarded for its own sake had not yet arrived. The common taste in things musical ran to the novel and spectacular. Anyone proposing a musical program and hoping to attract an audience would of necessity include non-musical attractions as well--such as balancing acts, gymnastics, dancing bears and ascending balloons. Visiting virtuosos performed technical feats of skill aimed more at exciting amazement than musical appreciation. In Vor Frelsers church in Oslo the eccentric Abbé Vogler, teacher of Meyerbeer and Von Weber, played an organ recital in 1797 which featured a musical description of a sea battle, "including the roar of the colliding fleets, war music, the movement of the ships, the tumult of the waves, the thunder of the cannons, the screaming of the wounded, and the triumphal song of the victors". In another recital he rendered into music Rubens' painting, Day of Judgment.[16]

[16] NM, I, pp. 41-69 and Gunnar Rugstad, "Hans Hagerup Falbe," Norsk Musikkgranskings Årbok 1956-1958, ed. O. M. Sandvik (Oslo, 1959), pp. 12-13. Also J. G. Conradi, Kortfattet historisk Oversigt over Musikens Udvikling og nuvaerende Standpunkt i Norge (Christiania, 1878), pp. 3-27.

The times were changing, however, and with them the appreciation for music. It began to be treated more seriously. Musical leaders began to emerge and give direction and focus to the efforts of those interested in music. They were usually gifted amateurs who pursued their musical endeavors in their leisure. As early as 1765 a group in the west coast city of Bergen organized Musikselskabet Harmonien.[17] In 1786, in Trondheim, far in the north, a musicalsk Selskab (musical society) was formed which in the following year gave fifteen concerts. In the south, in Christiansand, a musical society was also functioning, as was one in Oslo. Here musical events took place under the auspices of the local dramatic club until the year 1810, when Det musicalske Lycaeum was organized under the leadership of Paul Thrane.[18] All of these societies were private groups with a paid membership. Their concerts were likewise private. Some of the musicians who played were professional, but most were amateurs. By the year 1825 the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were appearing on the programs more or less regularly alongside the works of lesser composers such as Mehul, Romberg and Kreutzer. Symphonies often suffered the fate of having the movements separated by totally unrelated vocal or instrumental numbers. In 1825 the Lyceum performed Beethoven's Christ on the Mount of Olives, under the direction of cantor Lars Roverud, of whom we shall hear more later.[19] In the same year, as we have noted, the Lyceum performed Thrane's opera, Fjeldeventyret. Among favored foreign opera composers whose works were heard were Cimarosa, Paesiello and Gretry. It must be remembered that these societies were small, volunteer, struggling groups of people who usually assembled weekly to play--as well as they could--under amateur leadership for their own enjoyment. Occasionally they hired professional soloists. Often the sound must have left much to be desired. It was still to be about thirty years (1857) before the Oslo public would be treated to a per--formance of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, played by an orchestra which was somewhat adequate to the task.

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[17] This society is still functioning today, almost two hundred years later--a record for continuous musical activity which, it is said, is unmatched anywhere by a similar organization. This society forms the core of the current annual Bergen international music festival,

[18] Rugstad, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

In her memoirs, Gustava Kielland describes a typical musical evening in a very informal musicalsk Selskab in Drammen, a town lying a short distance south of Oslo: "We met at Christian's house one evening each week and

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19. Ibid., p. 13-14, and Alfred Paulson, O. M. Sandvik and Gerh. Schjelderup, "Musikliv utenfor Kristiania," NM, II, pp. 202-225.

played until ten o'clock. They were very pleasant evenings. Christian was always bringing new music home from his trips. Each player got his part, and without any preparation we all fell to and played. It was delightful fun. We played, laughed, played wrong and were scolded, played it again and laughed some more. That is how the first evening with the new music went. Later it went better; we took our parts home and practiced them before the next meeting".[20] Conradi says that gatherings such as these were especially important because they preserved the musical life of the town during periods when the more formally organized societies were at low ebb.[21] These groups were naturally limited in what they could perform. Yet they, as well as the more competent ones in the larger cities, laid the musical foundation upon which the future concert life of the country was built.

Among the families that could afford it, it was considered proper for girls to study music. This usually included singing and playing the piano, as well as studying the theory of figured bass.[22] This had the

20. Gustava Kielland, Erindringer fra mit Liv (Kristiania, 1902), p. 109.

21. Op. cit., p. 25.

22. Sofie Aubert Lindbaek, Hjemmet pa Akershus (Oslo, 1939), pp. 65 and 90.

effect of gradually broadening the base of musical appreciation in the cities; and in many a rural parish the pastor's wife, who had learned to play and sing as a girl, not only gladdened her family's life but also formed one of the few links between the world of "city" music and that of "country" music.[23]

3. Cultural Renaissance

When 1825, the year of "the sloopers", dawned, Norway stood at the threshold of a new cultural life. She was poor. The wars prior to 1814 had bankrupted her, and all of her intellectual energies had been expended to restore her economy and establish her political system. As we have seen, Norway's musical milieu prior to this time had been created largely by dilettantes and amateurs, with a sprinkling of genuine talent. Musical leadership was, on the whole, pedestrian. With the exception of *Fjeldeventyret*, nothing had been written that could not have been written by a lesser composer in any other European country; and, except for the flash of inspiration that prompted him to use the authentic folk idiom to portray the mountain scenes in his opera, Waldemar Thrane (1790-1828) himself classifies as a lesser composer. Of later great musicians, only three had yet been born: Ole Bull (1810-1880), L. M. Lindeman (1812-1887) and Halfdan Kjerulf (1815-1868), and their musical activity would not begin to be evident for another decade or more. The later "greats", Edward Grieg and his contemporaries, would not even be born until the 1840's.[24]

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[23] Glimpses of parsonage life can be had from Gustava Kielland, op. cit., Elisa Kielland, Aaret rundt i Fjeldbygden (Kristiania, 1900) and Charles Loring Brace, The Norse Folk (New York, 1859). The nineteenth century feminine preoccupation with music led the Danish feminist, Pauline Worm, to protest that "music from morning til night is enervating", and that it served only to distract women from pursuing greater goals. Bryn J. Hovde, The Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865 II, The Rise of the Middle Classes (Boston, 1943), p. 508.

24. Since biographical information is readily available on these composers and performers, only their names and dates will be listed here: Rikard Nordraak (1842-1866), Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), Johan Svendsen (1840-1911), Johan Selmer (1844-1910), Agathe Backer Grøndahl (1847-1907), Christian Sinding (1856-1941), Johan Halvorsen (1864-1935), and performers: Thomas Tellefsen, pianist (1823-1874), Erika Lie Nissen, pianist (1845-1903), Edmund Neupert, pianist (1840-1888), Martin Knutzen, pianist (1863-1909), Thorwald Lammers, singer (1841-1922). The reader is referred to the following two monographs in English which sketch the lives and contributions of these musicians: Börre Qvamme, *Norwegian Music and Composers* (London, 1949) and Kristian Lange and Arne Østvedt, *Norwegian Music, a brief Survey* (London, 1958). Neither book is documented, and they are useful only for a quick survey. Attention is directed to an extensive Grieg bibliography by Øystein Gaukstad which is in *Norsk Musikkgranskings Årbok 1942* (Oslo, 1943), and to Øystein Gaukstad, ed., *Edvard Grieg, Artikler og taler* (Oslo, 1957), a collection, hitherto unpublished, of Grieg's speeches and articles.

The corner had, nevertheless, been turned. The 'thirties witnessed the beginning of a cultural renaissance. Political and literary figures, such as A. M. Schweigaard, P. A. Munch, Fredrik Stang, Henrik Wergeland, J. S. Welhaven, Ludvig Kr. Daa, began to talk and write about Norway's destiny. They unfolded the glories of the past, especially the Viking and saga eras, and they forecast a noble future. The country "discovered" the _bonde_ and found in him a direct bond with the past, untainted by four hundred years under the Danes. The painter, I. C. Dahl, applied his brush to dramatizing the rugged Norwegian countryside, his followers, Adolph Tidemand and Hans Gude, to romanticizing the lives of its _bønder_. In the 'forties and the 'fifties national romanticism came into full vigor. R. Keyser and P. A. Munch established the Norwegian historical school. P. C. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe unearthed and published the folk legends, and, in the process, edited some of the Danish element out of the Norwegian language. M. B. Landstad and Sophus Bugge studied and published the ballads of the country people. L. M. Lindeman and Olea Crøger collected, arranged and printed the tunes. Ivar Aasen had begun his mammoth effort to recreate the Norse tongue.[25]

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[25] Oscar Falnes, _National Romanticism in Norway_ (New

4. The Musical Interpreters of National Romanticism--Bull, Kjerulf, Nordraak, Grieg

During the 'thirties the musical societies and the newer opera houses were the main purveyors of music to the populace, and popular taste favored grand opera--Auber, Hérold, Halévy, Boieldieu--with many spoken parts because there was a shortage of trained singers.[26] But, in singular keeping with the times, there strode onto the national and international stage now the figure of Ole Bull, violinist, showman, patriot--in fact, the embodiment of Norwegian national romanticism.

Possessed of a legendary talent, Bull early rejected the disciplined, objective German approach to playing and interpretation, of which Ludwig Spohr was the chief proponent. He felt more at home with the clarity and

25. (cont.) York, 1933), p. 303. An excellent brief survey of cultural developments in the nineteenth century is found in Otto Anderssen, "Kulturgang og skole i Norge" in Skrifter utgivna av pedagogiska sällskapet i Stockholm (Stockholm, 1917). In English an account of the period outlined above is found in Larsen, op. cit., pp. 436-449 as well as in Falnes.

[26] See the account of musical activity in Trondheim during these years in Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm, "Thomas Dyke Acland Tellefsen," Norsk Musikkgranskning Årbok 1956-1958 (Oslo, 1959), pp. 82-85; Asbjørn Hernes, Ole Andreas Lindeman og hans Tid, (Oslo, 1956), pp. 113-122. For the situation in Oslo see Conradi, op. cit., p. 29.

accentuation of the French school and the subjective, singing style of the Italian, Nicolo Paganini, which gave free rein to the inspiration of the moment--and with which Bull invariably entranced his audience. His musical critics took him to task for ignoring the serious literature for the violin, and in the next breath admitted that they were captivated by his style.[27]

A fateful meeting between Ole Bull and Møllarguten took place in Bergen in 1831. Møllarguten (1801-1872), whose real name was Torgeir Audunssøn, was a country fiddler, who was to weave a legend about himself with his feats of technical skill. The two played for each other, and Bull came away indelibly impressed with the intrinsic worth of Norway's folk music. He had found his life's work. He would propagate this music as Norway's truest expression of her inner genius. He would help the Norwe-

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27. One such was Bull's countryman and his temperamental opposite number, Halfdan Kjerulf, a refined musician and keen critic. See his remarks regarding Bull in *Halfdan Kjerulf. Av hans efterladte Papirer, 1847-1868* II, ed. Wladimir Moe (Kristiania, 1918), p. 184-187 et passim. Standard works on Bull include Mortimer Smith, *The Life of Ole Bull* (New York, 1947); Arne Bjørndal, *Ole Bull og norsk folkemusikk* (Bergen, 1940); Ola Linge, *Ole Bull; livshistoria, mannen, kunstnaren* (Oslo, 1953); Sara Chapman Bull, *Ole Bull, a memoir* (Boston, 1883). The account of Bull's ill-fated Pennsylvania colony is told in Torstein Jahr, "*Oleanna, et blad av Ole Bulls og den norske invandrings historie*," *Symra* VI (Decorah, Iowa, 1910), pp. 3-37, 129-162, 195-216. In *Norwegian Migration to America*, I, pp. 281-307, Blegen recounts the story in English and documents further sources.

gians to find themselves.[28] One is tempted to construct a chain of causes directly from Møllarguten to Grieg via Ole Bull and Rikard Nordraak. Nordraak himself says that "Bull spoke at length with me about music." Considering Bull's consuming passion for folk music it is fairly safe to assume that the older man tried to impress on his young admirer his views on the subject. This happened about the time that Nordraak was an impressionable eighteen year old.[29] When he was twenty-two Nordraak met Grieg in Copenhagen, and, by Grieg's own admission, showed him that his path as a composer lay in basing his work upon the folk idiom of Norway. Grieg said later, "...through him, and through him alone, light came to me".[30]

That Bull was a musical genius who burst onto the world stage at a time when the worship of sheer technique was at a peak, and that he was also something less than satisfying as an interpreter of the classics, history has

[28] Just how persistent he was in pursuing this aim we learn from Kjerulf, who wrote 27 years later: "Ole Bull...is storming at all of us here because we do not see in Møllarguten the incarnation of Norwegian art..." W. Moe, II, op. cit., p. 195.

[29] Greni, op. cit., p. 47.

[30] David Monrad Johansen, Edvard Grieg, trans. Madge Robertson (New York, 1945), pp. 66-67.

pretty well decided. In all fairness we must add that he was a child of his time, and not by any means alone in emphasizing effect to the detriment of musicianship. Most important for Norway was the fact that, beginning in the 'thirties and lasting until Grieg began to make an impression on the musical world in the late 'sixties, Ole Bull, as a renowned international figure, gave the young struggling country recognition and cause to hold up her head. This was especially so because of his outspoken championship of what he felt to be truly Norwegian. A contemporary Norwegian, Thomas Tellefsen, furnished a contrast in this regard. Probably every bit the equal, if not superior, of Bull as a musician, Tellefsen found Norway too cramped for his pianistic talent. So he moved to Paris where he achieved solid recognition. He was intimate with Chopin and moved in his circles, but, as far as Norway was concerned, lived the life of an expatriate.

To Halfdan Kjerulf must go the distinction of being the first seriously schooled composer who consistently applied the wider theoretical musical learning of Europe to Norwegian subject matter and turned out music which was distinctively his own, refined, yet impregnated with authentic folk music ideas--a "European recasting of Norwegian stuff."[31] Kjerulf was a cosmopolitan in his out-look and was constantly having to defend himself against the provincialists. He deplored the general level of taste in Oslo. When he and J. G. Conradi set up a series of subscription concerts in 1857 he was extremely dubious that the public, "who otherwise never heard anything but Strauss and the Carnival of Venice," would take to the musical diet which he and Conradi were preparing for them, which included Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.[32] He says later that the first concert came off much better than he had expected. There was an audience of about eight hundred, and Kjerulf expresses surprise that they showed such a liking for Beethoven. Furthermore, it was the first time in Oslo history that an orchestra had really sounded as it should.[33] Kjerulf was by nature retiring. He entered upon the serious study of music relatively late, and he never attempted composing in the larger forms. One of the most memorable of his pieces is Brudefaerden i Hardanger (The Bridal Procession in Hardanger), which he wrote originally for male chorus. It is memorable, not because it is the greatest music he wrote, although it is illustrative of his style, but because it is such a typical product of the age of romanticism. Characteristic of much of the choral writing of this period are the quick, dotted rhythms interspersed with broad, even rhythms and the fantasia-like divisions into sections with different meter or pulse. It was written to a poem by the highly romantic Andreas Munch, who based his poem in turn on a painting by Adolph Tidemand and Hans Gude of a quixotic wedding party scene on the Hardangerfjord. Over one hundred years later, this is still one of the most popular, and most sung, of Norwegian secular choral works.[34]

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[31] O. M. Sandvik, "Halfdan Kjerulf," NM, I, p. 199. His songs, like those that Lindeman published later, were harmonized and arranged for the piano. Thus they were two steps removed from their native state. In the first place their melodic intervals had been adjusted at various points to fit into the tempered scale system. In the second place they had been set to the prevailing cultured patterns of harmony.

[32] W. Moe, op. cit., p. 161.

[33] Ibid., p. 174. The strings of the orchestra con-

33. (cont.) sisted of 7 first, 6 second violins, 4 violas, 4 cellos and 3 basses (p. 175). Conradi, op. cit., p. 36, gives 8 first and second violins and 5 cellos, does not mention the rest. He says that string sections had always been weak and that normally a conductor had to be satisfied with half this number. Neither Kjerulf nor Conradi mentions winds or percussion. Thranes orchestra of 1825 is given in NM, I, p. 123, as having 6 first, 4 second, 2 violas, 2 cellos (or 1 cello and 1 bass), 1 flute and timpani.

34. See Plate II. The concert in which Brudefaerden was first sung took place in Oslo in March, 1849,

Rikard Nordraak came upon the scene like a fresh breeze, and left again almost as suddenly. He died when only twenty-four years old. He was an extrovert and magnificently self-contained.[35] He knew what Norwegian musicians ought to be doing and he told Grieg. They should gather up all the folk melodies and use them to construct a national musical structure.[36] Before he died

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34. (cont.) as one part of a three day celebration of the Norwegian arts. The celebration, which was often referred to as "the three great days of Norwegian art in the mid-nineteenth century," featured the paintings of Tidemand, Gude and others; the folk melodies collected by Ludvig Lindeman; the playing of Ole Bull; the poetry of J. S. Welhaven and Jørgen Moe and the singing of the Student Chorus under Kjerulf. NM, I, p. 205. With the painting on display, the singing of Brudefaerden made a tremendous hit. One of the singers, who remembered the occasion long afterward, was U. V. Koren, later a pioneer pastor in America. This information is from an undated letter from Koren to Minnehaha Male Chorus of Sioux Falls, among the Koren papers in the archives of the Koren Library, Luther College.

35. Of his first meeting with Nordraak, Grieg wrote many years later (Nordraak was 22, Grieg 21 years old): "What actually happened at my first meeting with Nordraak was so characteristic of Nordraak that I can conjure it up at will as if it were yesterday. It was one evening at Copenhagen's Tivoli that I was introduced by Fru Thoresen to a young man who called himself Nordraak and whose opening words were: 'And so we two great men really meet!' Bearing, gestures, voice, all suggested that here I had a man who felt himself the future Bjørnson plus Ole Bull. But there was, at the same time, something so touchingly naive and lovable about him that he took me by storm. I had never, till that moment, considered the possibility of being or becoming a great man." Johansen, op. cit., p. 66.

36. Greni, op. cit., p. 47.

PLATE II

38

Behrens, Lette Mandskor

No. 31. Brudefærden.

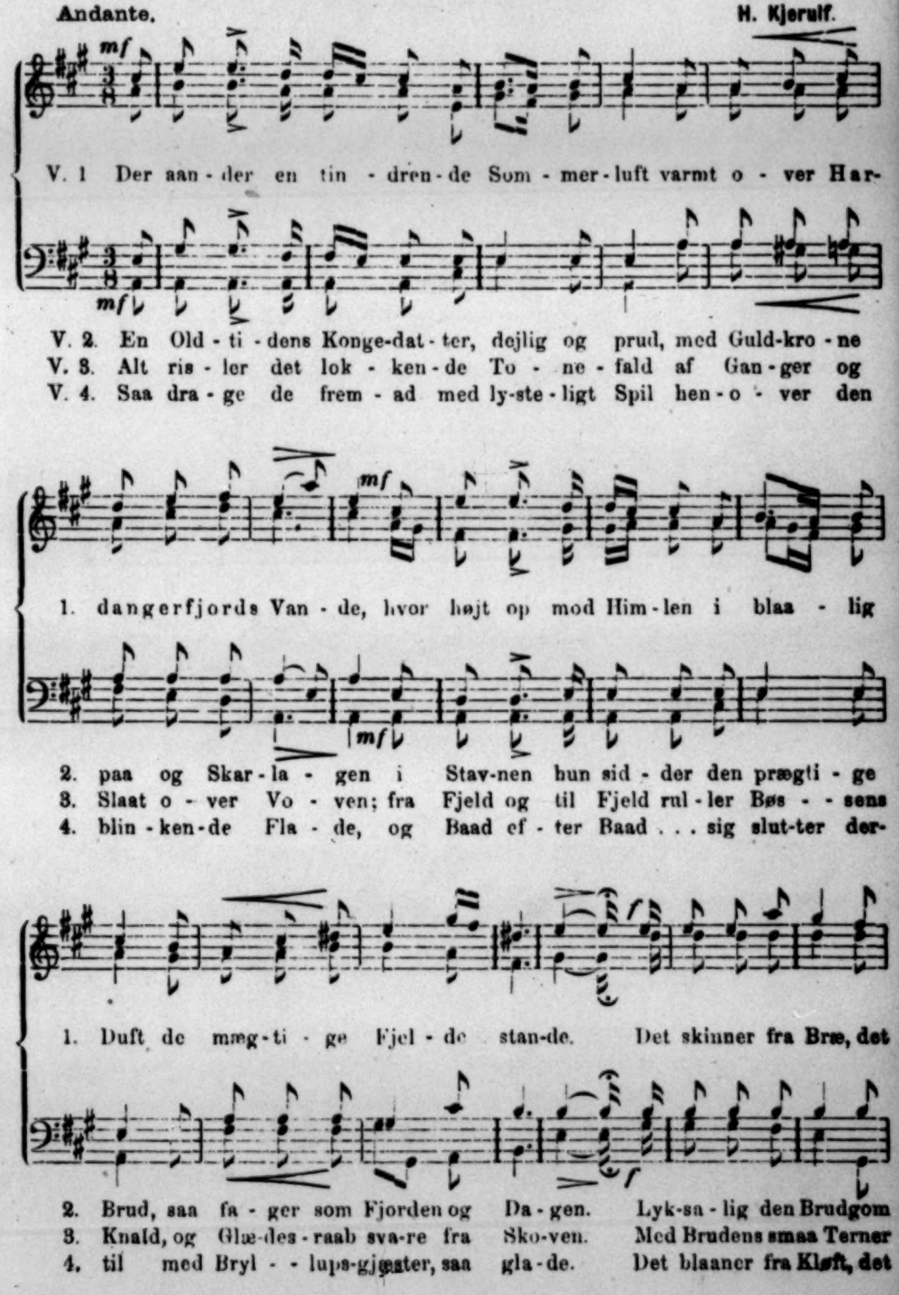
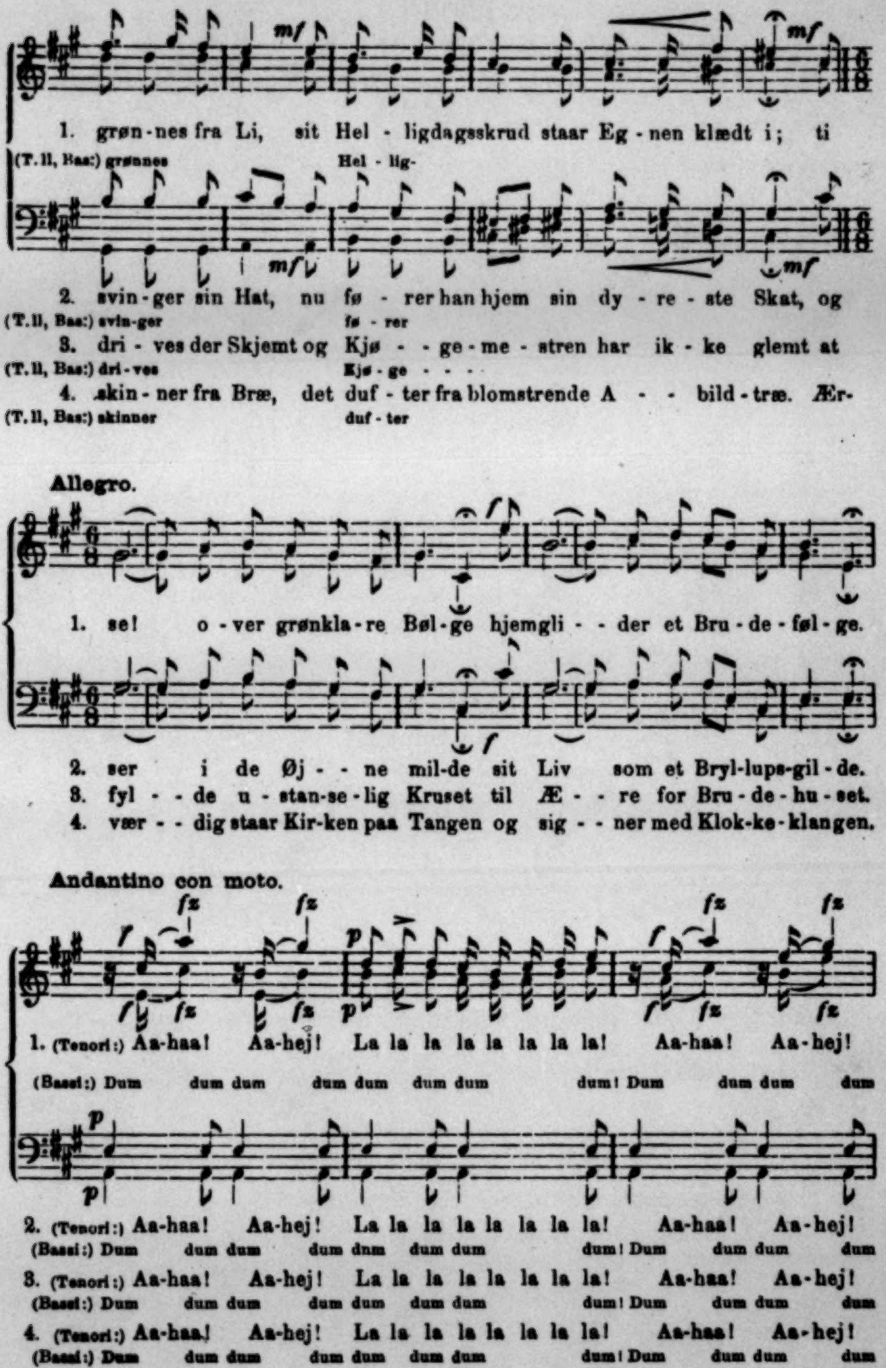

Andante.
H. Kjerulf.
mf
V. 1 Der aan - der en tin - dren - de Som - mer - luft varmt o - ver Har-
V. 2. En Old - ti - dens Konge-dat - ter, dejlig og prud, med Guld-kro - ne
V. 3. Alt ris - ler det lok - ken - de To - ne - fald af Gan - ger og
V. 4. Saa dra - ge de frem - ad med ly-ste - ligt Spil hen - o - ver den
1. dangerfjords Van - de, hvor højt op mod Him - len i blaa - lig
2. paa og Skar - la - gen i Stav-nen hun sid - der den prægti - ge
3. Slaat o - ver Vo - ven; fra Fjeld og til Fjeld rul - ler Bø - - sens
4. blin - ken - de Fla - de, og Baad ef - ter Baad . . . sig slut-ter der-
1. Duft de mæg - ti - ge Fjel - de stan - de. Det skinner fra Bræ, det
2. Brud, saa fa - ger som Fjorden og Da - gen. Lyk-sa - lig den Brudgom
3. Knald, og Glæ - des - raab sva - re fra Sko - ven. Med Brudens smaa Terner
4. til med Bryl - - lups-gjæster, saa gla - de. Det blaaner fra Kløft, det
f

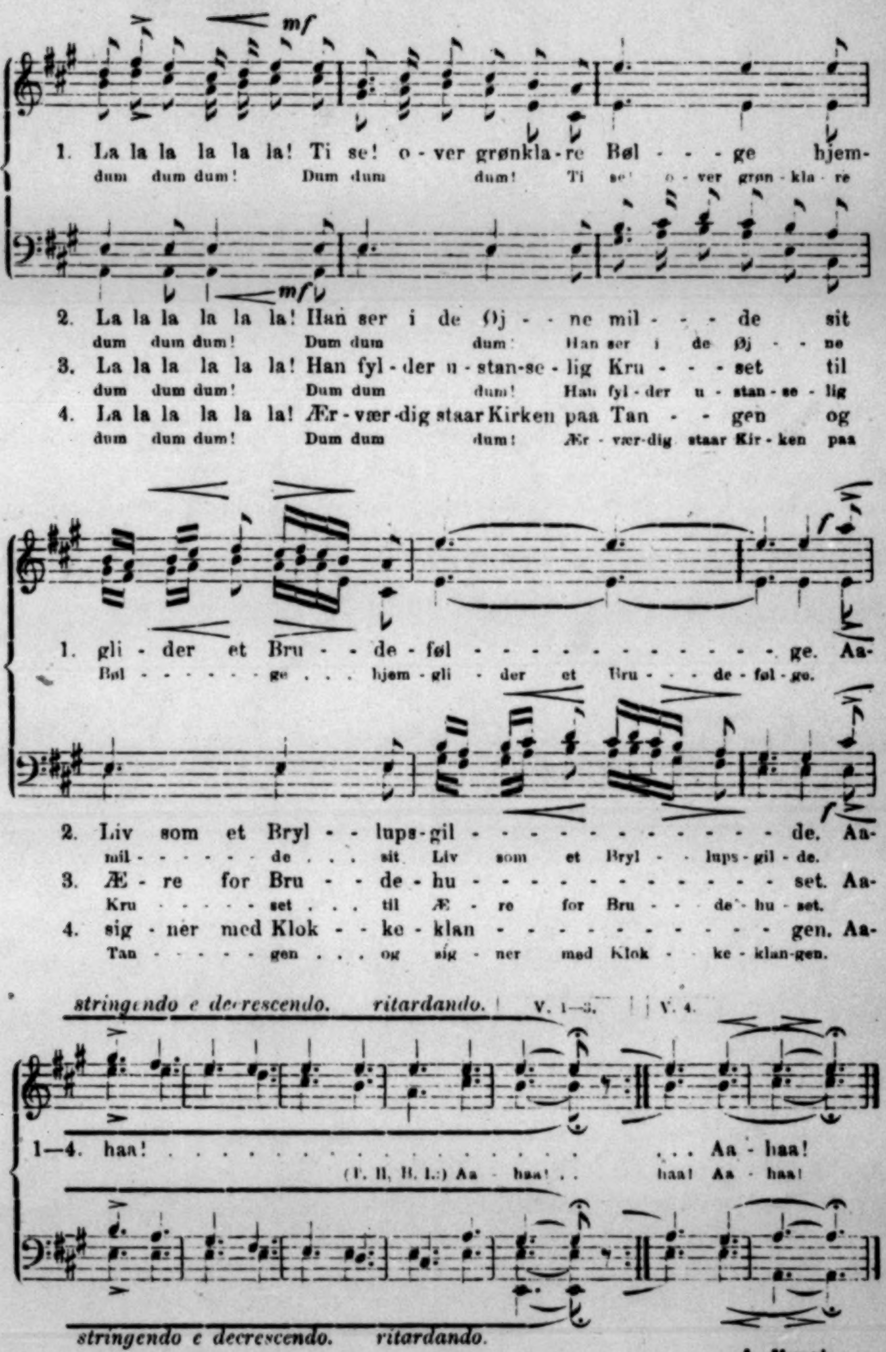
PLATE II


1. grøn-nes fra Li, sit Hel - ligdagsskrud staar Eg - nen klædt i; ti
(T. II, Bas:) grønnes Hel - lig-
2. svin-ger sin Hat, nu fø - rer han hjem sin dy - re - ste Skat, og
(T. II, Bas:) svin-ger fø - rer
3. dri - ves der Skjemt og Kjø - - ge - me - stren har ik - ke glemt at
(T. II, Bas:) dri - ves Kjø - ge - - -
4. skin - ner fra Bræ, det duf - ter fra blomstrende A - - bild - træ. Ær-
(T. II, Bas:) skinner duf - ter
mf
Allegro.
1. se! o - ver grønkla - re Bøl - ge hjemgli - - der et Bru - de - føl - ge.
2. ser i de Øj - - ne mil - de sit Liv som et Bryl - lups - gil - de.
3. fyl - - de u - stan - se - lig Kruset til Æ - - re for Bru - de - hu - set.
4. vær - - dig staar Kir - ken paa Tangen og sig - - ner med Klok - ke - klangen.
f
Andantino con moto.
f fz p
1. (Tenori:) Aa-haa! Aa-hej! La la la la la la la la! Aa-haa! Aa-hej!
(Bassi:) Dum dum dum dum dum dum dum! Dum dum dum dum
2. (Tenori:) Aa-haa! Aa-hej! La la la la la la la la! Aa-haa! Aa-hej!
(Bassi:) Dum dum dum dum dum dum dum! Dum dum dum dum
3. (Tenori:) Aa-haa! Aa-hej! La la la la la la la la! Aa-haa! Aa-hej!
(Bassi:) Dum dum dum dum dum dum dum! Dum dum dum dum
4. (Tenori:) Aa-haa! Aa-hej! La la la la la la la la! Aa-haa! Aa-hej!
(Bassi:) Dum dum dum dum dum dum dum! Dum dum dum dum

26-b

PLATE II

40


mf
1. La la la la la la! Ti se! o - ver grønkla - re Bøl - - - ge hjem-
dum dum dum! Dum dum dum! Ti se! o - ver grøn - kla - re
mf
2. La la la la la la! Han ser i de Øj - - ne mil - - - de sit
dum dum dum! Dum dum dum! Han ser i de Øj - - ne
3. La la la la la la! Han fyl - der u - stan - se - lig Kru - - - set til
dum dum dum! Dum dum dum! Han fyl - der u - stan - se - lig
4. La la la la la la! Ær - vær - dig staar Kirken paa Tan - - gen og
dum dum dum! Dum dum dum! Ær - vær - dig staar Kir - ken paa
f
1. gli - der et Bru - - de - føl - - - - - - - - - - - ge. Aa-
Bøl - - - - - - ge . . . hjem - gli - der et Bru - - de - føl - ge.
f
2. Liv som et Bryl - - lups - gil - - - - - - - - - - de. Aa-
mil - - - - - - de . . . sit Liv som et Bryl - - lups - gil - de.
3. Æ - re for Bru - - de - hu - - - - - - - - - - - set. Aa-
Kru - - - - - - set . . . til Æ - re for Bru - - de - hu - set.
4. sig - ner med Klok - - ke - klan - - - - - - - - - - gen. Aa-
Tan - - - - - - gen . . . og sig - ner med Klok - - ke - klan - gen.
stringendo e decrescendo. ritardando. V. 1—3. V. 4.
1—4. haa! . . . . Aa - haa!
(T. II, B. I.:) Aa - haa! . . haa! Aa - haa!
stringendo e decrescendo. ritardando.

A. Munch.

he wrote the song that was to become the national anthem: "Ja, vi elsker dette landet," to a text by his cousin Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. It first appeared, modestly enough, in a collection of male chorus music published in 1864 by Joh. D. Behrens.[37]

Grieg happily accepted from Nordraak the mantle of responsibility of the Norwegian composer. He set out immediately to build the national musical structure, and in the next forty years succeeded in carving out for Norway a musical reputation that could not be ignored. His principle contribution to the music of the world was a system of harmonic treatment which was peculiarly his own, but which he consciously adapted from Norwegian folk music. He himself said, "I have found that the obscure depth in our folk music results from its unguessed harmonic possibilities. In my treatment of folk tunes, Opus 66 and elsewhere, I have tried to give expression to my guess at the hidden harmonies of our folk tunes."[38] In a detailed study of Grieg's harmony, Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe attempts to show that this harmonic treatment was

37. Ibid., p. 93.

38. Johansen, op. cit., p. 350.

an important forerunner of impressionism.[39] By virtue of Grieg's activity as a composer, Norway rapidly took her place in the sun. However, Grieg was taken to task by foreign critics for doing precisely what his own countrymen demanded and applauded--producing music which could be classified as uniquely Norwegian. It was a case of a reversal of the old adage that a prophet is without honor in his own country.

5. Music in the Organizations.

Grieg did not confine his activity in Norway to composing. He was genuinely concerned about the general state of musical affairs. Shortly after his return from Leipzig in 1866 he, together with Otto Winter-Hjelm, directed a series of subscription concerts, which led in 1871 to the formation of Musik-foreningen, (The Music Association), with Grieg and Johan Svendsen as the leaders. With this organization sponsoring public concerts, the

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[39] Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, A Study of Grieg's Harmony, with Special Reference to his Contributions to Musical Impressionism (Oslo, 1953), p. 164. Published originally as a supplement to Norsk Musikkgransknings Årbok 1951-1953 (Oslo, 1953).

Oslo public began to come of age. In 1872 the Mozart Requiem was on the program, and inside of twelve years all of the Beethoven symphonies, including the ninth, had been performed. Bach and contemporary composers also appeared regularly. Being musical director was not an easy task. Orchestral players were not used to operating under the sort of discipline that is taken for granted today. Often the conductor was reduced to scouring the town for additional players or last minute substitutions. It was not until 1890 that the then conductor, Iver Holter, proposed that the city, not a private organization, assume responsibility for maintaining a core theater orchestra to which could be added players for larger concerts.[40] The proposal was rejected. The city did not want to assume any additional burdens.

Since the forming in 1799 of the New Dramatic Society, an instrumental group had been attached to the theater in Oslo. The musicians involved here were usually the same as those who later formed and maintained the civic musical societies, but the music-making unit remained attached to the theater.[41] Thus, throughout the century there existed

40. O. M. Sandvik, "Musikkforeningen", NM, II, pp. 157-175.

41. The dramatic organizations, in chronological order of their starting dates, were: Det dramatiske Selskap, 1780; Det nye dramatiske Selskap, 1799; Christiania Theater, 1837, and Nationaltheater, 1899.

side by side one or more theatrical and musical organizations making use of the same musical resources. This in itself raised difficulties since Oslo was not a large city and did not have great musical resources.[42] Interest in opera was maintained with varying degrees of success, there being some years in which no operas were performed. Opera production is always costly, and there was not adequate support; consequently, there was little incentive for native composers to write operas. Between Thrane's Fjeldeventyret, in 1825, and Johannes Haarklau's Fra Gamle Dage, in 1894, no serious Norwegian effort was made in this field. The stage was occupied, when it was, by foreign productions and, for the most part, foreign companies. Home productions were sometimes brought off only with the aid of actors of the spoken stage who were

41. (cont.) The musical organizations were an early, rather ill-defined society called simply Det musicalske Selskab, prior to 1810; Det musicalske Lycaeum, 1810; Det filharmoniske Selskab, 1846, at first limited to professional musicians, after the Kjerulf-Conradi subscription concerts opened to non-professional people by Winter-Hjelm, ceased activity in 1867, but resumed musical activity with the Grieg-Winter-Hjelm subscription concerts; Musik-foreningen, 1871; Filharmoniske Selskap, 1919.

[42] In 1855 her population was 41,266. Statistisk Aarbog for Kongeriget Norge. 1. Aarg. 1880 (Kristiania, 1881), p. 7.

drafted to sing. Not until the last quarter of the century did Norwegian singers begin to appear in any number.[43]

In 1865 a string quartet ensemble sent out subscription invitations to evenings of chamber music. This was the first real effort to provide musical performances by genuine chamber music ensembles--not just undersized orchestras. It was still to be many years before the programs lost their entertainment aspect. Genuine quartet movements were divided by unrelated variety numbers, and it was still the custom at musical performances, vocal or instrumental, to have "assistance" in the form of some contrasting medium, usually musical, in order to lure an audience. It was not until the 'eighties that leading artists like Agathe Backer Grøndahl, Erika Lie Nissen and Thorvald Lammers were able to attract an audience to an evening devoted entirely to one composer, and confined to a single performer.[44]

It is necessary to focus attention briefly on the military bands that existed in the garrison towns because they were a popular source of musical entertainment. Tønnes Birknes, writing in Norges Musikhistorie, says that the popularity of non-Norwegian music among most of the common people can be ascribed to the fact that the directors of most of these bands were immigrants to Norway. Many of Norway's leading musicians and teachers--among them Svendsen and Halvorsen--got their start playing in a band. In 1854 Paolo Sperati, a visiting Italian musician, stayed in Norway to direct the band of the Second Brigade, and to make a name for himself as a disciplined, gifted director and instructor.[45]

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[43] NM, I, pp. 116-134; NM, II, pp. 157-159 and 241-250; Rugstad, op. cit., pp. 14-16 and 25-28; Conradi, op. cit., pp. 28-32.

[44] NM, II, pp. 236-237 and 276. This variety type of program was characteristic for Europe in general.

6. Music Instruction--Professional and Primary

One of the most serious deficiencies in Norway was the lack of a school in which musicians could be trained. Lars Roverud complained of it in 1815 in his book Et Blik paa Musikens Tilstand i Norge.[46] He and others after him sought to remedy the situation by establishing "singing institutes" in which voice, keyboard and some theory were taught. None of them had any long-lasting success. The most notable attempt was that by Grieg and Winter-Hjelm, who began the Academy of Music in 1867. In spite of possessing a first-rate staff of instructors the school closed in a year's time when Grieg left Oslo to spend some time abroad. Apparently, the musical public was still satisfied with the prevailing custom of studying privately with individual teachers, only the most promising students seeking stipends to go to Leipzig or Paris to round out a musical education. Grieg deplored this Europeanizing of native talent, said students just had to unlearn much of what they had learned abroad when they returned to live and write in Norway.[47] Not until 1883 was a school of music established which managed to weather the storms attendant upon such endeavors, and which is still operating today. This was Musikkonservatoriet, founded by L. M. Lindeman and his son Peter.[48] It started as a school for organists and, although not fulfilling all of the hopes of those who have wanted an academy of music, it has been the principal training establishment for musicians in Oslo ever since.

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[45] "Militaermusikken," NM, II, p. 240. Sperati's son, Carlo, later put his musical stamp, as the Luther College band director, on the cultural life of the Norwegians in America.

[46] Quoted in NM, I, p. 66. In 1878 the lack was still present and still being deplored. See Conradi, op. cit., p. 12.

[47] Johansen, op. cit., p. 95 and O. M. Sandvik, "Otto Winter-Hjelm," NM, II, pp. 123-124.

[48] O. M. Sandvik, "Musikpaedagoger og Musikskribenter," NM, II, P. 263.

Music instruction in the school system consisted of singing. The amount of technical instruction that accompanied the singing depended on the instructor. In the early part of the nineteenth century pupils sang hymns from one of the standard hymnals. Since the hymnals had no tunes in them, the instructor learned the tunes and taught them by rote. This method fulfilled a double purpose. It gave the pupils practice in singing and it taught them the hymns that they would also be singing in church. Since public education was still thought of as culminating in the religious rite of confirmation, this system was considered satisfactory.[49] With the general enlightenment that came in the first half of the century, however, and the conviction that public education ought to do more than it had to educate the whole person, music instruction also came in for some changes. Song books with notes which included folk songs, hymns and other types of songs were used. In 1849 Joh. D. Behrens, who taught singing in several Oslo schools, put out the first of many books he published for school instruction. He thought that children should learn some musical theory along with singing, so he included this in some of his books. His Sanglaere for Skoler (Christiania, 1868) (Singing Method for Schools) includes information ranging all the way from a description of the vocal facility to elements of conducting, and is replete with musical exercises. L. M. Lindeman also taught singing and issued songbooks for the schools. One of his contributions (in 1867) was a book of melodies to Lesebog for Folkeskolen og Folkehjemmet (Christiania, 1863), by P. A. Jensen, the first school reader which included non-Biblical reading material.

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[49] Books in English surveying the Norwegian schools of the nineteenth century are David A. Anderson, The School System of Norway (Boston, 1913) and A. S. Jensen, The Rural Schools of Norway (Boston, 1928). A recent survey in Norwegian is Einar Høigaard and Herman Ruge, Den norske skoles historie. En oversikt (Oslo, 1947). A useful monograph which sets the school within the broader scope of the culture of the nineteenth century is Anderssen's "Kulturgang og skole i Norge", noted earlier.

Such thorough instruction as that typified by Behrens was not the rule, however. Most of the country's teachers were not skilled musicians. Many could not even read notes.[50] To improve the situation generally, Behrens was engaged by the Department of Church and Education to conduct summer institutes in music for school teachers. This began in the late 'sixties and continued for seven years.[51] Thirty years before, Lars Roverud had conducted a similar crusade for better music in the schools and churches, also under the auspices of the Departemnt of Church and Education. His activity in this area will be discussed subsequently under church music. Instrumental music on a wide scale did not enter the schools until the start of the school bands (guttemusikkorps) in 1901.[52]

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[50] In his book on musical conditions in the early part of the century, Et Blik...(1815), Lars Roverud says that of the country church precentors (klokkere), who were also the school teachers, "hardly one in fifty can read a note". Quoted in NM, I, p. 66. Considering general musical conditions at that time he probably was not exaggerating.

7. The Male Chorus Movement

The name Johan D. Behrens is firmly linked to another phase of Norwegian musical life--that of the male chorus movement. It can rightly be referred to as a movement because, as opposed to the cultivated musical life of the larger cities, this was a popular phenomenon. Although it had its trained leaders, and the individual choruses rehearsed and studied their music assiduously, basically the movement took hold because men wanted to get together for singing and sociability. O. M. Sandvik, in his chapter

[51] Nils Hertzberg, Minder fra min Skolemestertid, 1844-1873 (Kristiania, 1910), p. 152 and (J. B. Halvorsen) Mindeblad over Joh. D. Behrens (Kristiania, 1890), p. 21.

[52] NM, II, p. 287.

on the male chorus in NM, II, says that the male choruses evolved at just the right time (1845) to assume the role of interpreter of national romanticism. The virile quality of men's voices was ideally suited to giving ex-pression to national aspirations, to the feelings of the common people, to an appreciation of nature.[53]

Gottfrid Kallstenius says that the genesis of the student male chorus in Scandinavia lies in pan-Scandinavianism--a movement based on real and imagined feelings of a common Nordic brotherhood. The movement gave birth to countless lyrics which extolled the Scandinavian idea, and these lyrics, set to music by various composers, were sung by the students, thus broadcasting the Nordic doctrine.[54] The movement, which experienced its heyday in the 'forties and 'fifties, had already ebbed to a close by the time of the last of the inter-Scandinavian student meetings in 1875.[55]

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53. O. M. Sandvik, "Norsk Korsang. I. Mandssangen," NM, II, p. 65

54. "Studentsången och Skandinavismen," in Nordisk Tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri, Arg. 17 (Stockholm, 1941), pp. 616-617.

55. One of the most ardent of the pan-Scandinavians was the playwright Henrik Ibsen, who became so incensed at the Norwegians for speaking loftily of the brotherhood of the north but taking no action when Denmark was attacked by Prussia that he wrote his two dramas, Brand and Peer Gynt, in which, as Karen Larsen puts it, he "flayed the Norwegians for their evasions,

It is true that the immediate incentive to form the Norwegian Student Chorus came out of the inter-Scandinavian student meeting which took place in Lund and Copenhagen in 1845. The Norwegian "chorus" which attended this meeting was a hastily assembled and rehearsed group. They felt so chagrined when they heard the Swedish and Danish choruses sing that they refused to sing themselves, substituted rousing "hurrahs" instead. On the way home from the meetings, Behrens, who was their leader, collected signatures of interested students and, upon arrival in Oslo, drew up articles of constitution establishing Den norske Studentersangforening in July, 1845.[56]

Although the immediate reason for the start of the Student Chorus can be attributed to the Norwegian students' desire to match the choral achievements of their neighbors, and although the chorus' later vocal expression was nourished by the choral contributions of pan-Scandinavian-

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55. (cont.) for their fair words that led to no action." A sketch of the course and demise of pan-Scandinavianism can be found in Larsen, op. cit., pp. 424-426 and 448-449.

[56] The whole story of the origin of the Student Chorus is told in Mindeblad over Joh. D. Behrens, pp. 8-10. The author of this monograph is J. B. Halvorsen. His name does not appear on the title page. The author has included a bibliography of Behrens' publications and writings, including a listing of the newspaper articles written during the long feud between Behrens and L. M. Lindeman over the chorale book.

ism, a more compelling reason for its creation and subsequent success lies in the background, character and gifts of its founder, Johan Didrik Behrens (1820-1890). J. M. Lund, one of the members of Behrens' first quartet, said at one time that the city of Bergen was the seminal plot in which the first shoots of the Student Chorus must be sought. "There were livelier musical interests there than elsewhere in Norway, and where bergensere came together there was always 'sang og klang'."[57]

Behrens came from a musical family in Bergen. His grandfather immigrated from Rostock where his father had been a church musician. The immigrant to Bergen was also a church musician, and he was employed there as the organist in Maria church. Thus, J. D. Behrens' grandfather and great-grandfather were both church musicians. His own father, though a sailmaker by trade, also had a keen interest in music, encouraging music-making at home. Thus we find Behrens taking his part in the family "orchestra", which included violin, piano, harp (probably some sort of zither) and guitar.[58] His interest in music grew with the years, centering finally on singing. He

[57] Quoted in Otto Anderssen, Den norske Studentersangforening 1845-1895, (Kristiania, 1895), p. 2.

[58] (Halvorsen), op. cit., p. 6.

matriculated at the university in Oslo in the school of theology.[59] However, he found himself unable to subordinate his natural inclination toward music. Consequently, he neglected his theological study, finally abandoning it altogether.

Although he never took much formal instruction in the theory of music, he was endowed with good taste, a sure feeling for form, rhythm and the possibilities inherent in the male voice, plus a prodigious energy, which, together with singular gifts of leadership, fitted him admirably for the task he assumed of establishing the male chorus as a part of Norwegian life.

The musical shoot which first saw light in Bergen produced its first bloom in Behrens' student days in Oslo in 1843, when he formed a male quartet of four acquaintances from Bergen.[60] The formation of the group may have

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59. The other 4 schools in the university were law, medicine, mathematics and science, history and philosophy. Other one-time theological students were Ole Bull and L. M. Lindeman. Even Grieg--until he met Bull--contemplated the study of theology. Kjerulf studied law, Conradi medicine, Winter-Hjelm philosophy.

60. The second tenor in this quartet was Ulrik Vilhelm Koren, a theological student who was to migrate to America ten years later as a pastor. As President of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Koren welcomed the touring Student Chorus to Decorah, Iowa in 1905. The record of their tour is given in Den norske Studentersangforenings koncerttourné gjennem det norske Amerika i mai og juni 1905 (Kristiania, 1906). Of the members of the original

been inspired by two short-lived male choruses that were formed in Oslo that year. One was formed by A. E. Schütze, a Schleswig-Holsteiner, who gave his group the German title, Liedertafel. The other chorus was begun by Conradi. Both ceased to exist inside of two years.[61] For this reason the year 1845 is usually reckoned as the beginning of the male chorus movement in Norway. The Studentersangforening, which began then, has had an unbroken existence to this day. In 1845 Conradi again organized two male choruses, one among the tradesmen and one among the artisans of the city.[62] We have seen how the Student Chorus got started. Although he was the generating power behind the group, Behrens did not direct the chorus at first. Kjerulf was asked to direct and he did so until 1849 when Behrens assumed the regular musical direction of the chorus.[63] He remained in this position for forty years. P. A. Munch, writing in the Nordisk Tidskrift, credits Kjerulf with establishing the reputation for fine musicianship in his direction of the chorus

60. (cont.) quartet, Koren lived the longest. He died in 1910. He has already been mentioned once, and his name will appear again in the course of this study.

61. Conradi, op. cit., p. 48.

62. Loc. cit. Behrens later took over their direction from Conradi.

63. (Halvorsen), op. cit., p. 11.

which set a high musical standard right from the start--a standard which Behrens maintained.[64]

In order to improve the quality of his chorus, Behrens divided it in half. In one half were those who qualified as singers without special training. In the other half he put the men who knew little or nothing about singing, or music in general. As the men in the latter half attained a certain level of skill they moved into the first half.[65] Behrens published books for the training of a male chorus, which, like his school songbooks, went into considerable detail. His method, as stated in the foreword to his Korsanglaere for Mandsstemmer (Kristiania, 1883) (Choir Method for Male Voices), was to accompany practice with theory. He disagreed heartily with the stated purpose of the Danish student chorus whose songs "are not to be learned works, but light and enjoyable, youthful songs."[66]

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[64] "Trekk av Den norske Studentersangforenings historie," Årg. 21 (Stockholm, 1945), p. 529.

[65] Anderssen, Den norske..., p. 18.

[66] Ibid., p. 25. Although Behrens had no objection to sociability within the organization he had a serious approach to the music. He thought the chorus should challenge and inspire its members, not merely entertain them. To this end he included on his programs such numbers as the "Bacchus Chorus" from Mendelssohn's Antigone, the "Priests' Chorus" from Mozart's The Magic Flute. See further the program listed by Anderssen for the first massed choir concert Behrens directed in Oslo, April 16, 1850. P. 25. These

When Behrens began working with the chorus no repertory for male voices existed in Norway.[67] Being of an energetic nature he set about creating one. He translated, edited and adapted German and Scandinavian texts, sometimes using imported tunes, often Norwegian folk tunes. He elicited the support of Norway's leading authors and composers, and they contributed texts and tunes, some of which have since earned a permanent place on the shelf of Norway's most enduring choral music.[68] The collection which he created, which finally ran to forty volumes containing over seven hundred numbers, became the staple of the choruses which by now were being organized all over Norway and, in the latter quarter of the century, among the immigrants in America as well. Since he had an orderly mind and a systematic way of doing things he also was careful to give sources for tunes and texts wherever he was able--an excellent practice, by no means universally

66. (cont.) might not strike the mid-twentieth century reader as so challenging, but it must be remembered that in 1850 this music was the contemporary, serious music of the day.

67. One exception: a collection of 41 four-part songs for men, of Norwegian, Swedish and German origin, published in 1843 by A. E. Schütze, mentioned in Conradi, op. cit., p. 48 and Alf Køber, Fredrikshalds Sangforening gjennem 100 ar, 1846-1946 (Halden, 1946), p. 23.

68. For example: Nordraak's Ja, vi elsker dette landet and Kjerulf's Solvirkning and Brudefaerden i Hardanger.

adhered to either in his time or since.

Behrens felt that singing was an excellent means of instilling a love for all kinds of music. In the introduction to his Sanglaere for Skoler he says, "A sound training in singing is the most important means of awakening and nourishing the musical taste of the people and of promoting their artistic development." He therefore encouraged the formation of choruses "in town and parish (by og bygd) throughout the whole country."[69] He organized massed choir festivals, which were in reality as much folk festivals as music festivals.[70] The festivals were held on the long Pentecost weekend when spring was about to give way to summer and the bright northern nights lifted spirits and encouraged socializing. In this atmosphere the first sangerfest took place at Asker, a country place not far from Oslo, in June 1851.[71] Alf Køber has des-

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69. Køber, op. cit., p. 28.

70. Munch, op. cit., p. 530. The singing festivals in Norway set the pattern for the later ones which were held among the Norwegian-Americans in both church and non-church settings.

71. Two massed choir events had actually preceded this. The first was directed by Behrens in Oslo in 1850 when he assembled the 3 choirs he was then directing in Oslo for the event. (See footnote 66). The second occasion took place in the same year on the island of Bastø, when Conradi assembled a group of choruses. Neither of these events, however, achieved the peculiar blend of music and romantic patriotism that was to characterize the 6 sangerfester which Behrens directed between 1851 and 1883.

cribed the festival in his book Fredrikshalds Sangforening gjennom 100 ar, 1846-1946 (pp. 52-54):

> "One hundred six men came from Oslo on Pentecost Eve and were met by a salute from a battery of cannon, and a drink. At eleven p.m. the sixty-seven men from Drammen came. They were greeted with a song by the Oslo group and responded with one of their own, both written for the occasion. They then gathered round a cask of kardinal for a convivial two hours of song, food and wine, retiring to nearby farmsteads for the night. They arose early for breakfast, after which they spent the morning rehearsing, sightseeing, re--laxing, '...some also attending services in Asker church.' At three p.m. the festival took place with the massed choir occupying a knoll and about four thousand listeners sitting below. The 'concert' consisted of songs, speeches, toasts, 'hurrahs' and cannon salutes."

Behrens prevailed upon leading literary and political figures to attend the festivals and speak, thus lending prestige and an aura of national importance to the occasion. In 1856 Joh. Seb. Welhaven spoke at the sangerfest in Fredrikshald and his words stirred the heart of every singer: "...singing is a force in the development of the people, a power that begets community. In the world of song the greatest service of the art of the male chorus is to give expression to the concept of a people who in singing expresses its very life and being."[72] On the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Student Chorus Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson uttered these words, "...we

[72] J. S. Welhaven, Samlede Skrifter, VI (Kjøbenhavn, 1868), p. 344.

shall also see the day that a national festival will witness the whole country rising in song from Lindesnes to Kap [Nordkap]."[73] Words such as these, and similar ones upon other occasions, had the effect of linking the male chorus movement to the greater one of nationalism in the minds of the people. Furthermore, Sandvik says the male chorus came to betoken festivity. In mid-century it was easier to call on the local chorus than to find other music for a special occasion. The noble poetry and manly tone provided the proper sentiment; and later, when more music was available, the people still looked for the men to add the accustomed festive touch.[74]

The rise of the male chorus in Norway may be counted as an example of one of those occurrences in history when the critical time, the proper occasion and the right man are brought together. Largely because of Behrens' leadership, vision and organizational talents, the movement mushroomed, producing singing organizations all over the country. The result was that many smaller localities had the opportunity to establish contact with a music world they would not otherwise have known. Even in 1920

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[73] (Halvorsen), op. cit., p. 20. "Lindesnes to Kap" is Norway's equivalent of Great Britain's "Land's End to John o' Groats."

[74] Sandvik, NM, II, p. 69.

Sandvik complained that there was too little general music-making in Norway, and he maintained for this reason that the male choruses were serving a useful purpose.[75] However, Sandvik also deplored that so much of Behrens' effort went into the establishing of this particular musical medium. He says, "This man's activity was almost fateful in that his enthusiasm for the male chorus gave that art form much too big a place in our small society, pushing other interests aside. It is almost with sadness that one thinks of what it might have meant to musical life in Norway if this tremendous energy had been disposed in the service of the mixed choir and the orchestra".[76]

Sandvik's point of view regarding the place in musical life which the male chorus usurped is given support in Hugo Riemann's Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven (1800-1900), where he charges the male chorus movement in Germany with taking the bloom off the nascent mixed choir development there. Tenors were usually in short supply,[77] and it was easier and more rewarding for the average tenor to sing the prominent role given him in the male chorus rather than the difficult minor voice tendered him in the mixed choir.[78] Conradi, in 1878, had already given his judgment of the male chorus: "...as an artistic medium... [it] must take a modest place in the total musical life... [because of] the limited range of the voices one has at his disposal, and the monotony deriving from voices which are so similar in sound and color...", but he also maintained that the choruses fill "a not unimportant role" in social life and serve to "awaken a taste...for better music."[79] The male chorus, which afforded an ideal opportunity for men to gather for singing and sociability, was to play a major role also in the development of music among Norwegian immigrants in the United States.

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[75] Ibid., p. 90

[76] Ibid., p. 17.

[77] Anderssen, Den norske..., p. 74 et passim, also notes difficulties with securing an adequate number of tenors.

8. Mixed Choirs

Mixed choirs, organized for the purpose of singing the larger works in the choral repertory, date from the Handel festivals, conducted in Westminster Abbey from 1784-1787. Out of this grew the Handel and Haydn festivals. From England they spread to the continent and the United States.[80]

[78] (Berlin, 1901), p. 218.

[79] Op. cit., p. 49.

[80] The Handel and Haydn Society was founded in Boston in 1815.

In Germany, Musikvereine were formed all over the country to sing Handel, Haydn and Beethoven, but their growth was stunted by the burgeoning male chorus movement.[81] In Norway the mixed choir did not begin activity until 1878 and 1879 when O. A. Grøndahl and Thorvald Lammers each organized a choir. From 1880 on the choral works of the masters were heard with fair regularity in Oslo.[82]

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[81] Riemann, op. cit., p. 210 ff.

[82] O. M. Sandvik, "Norsk Korsang. II. Blandede Kor-Damekor," NM, II, pp. 228-229.

CHAPTER II

MUSIC IN THE CHURCH OF NORWAY

Introduction

The whole of the nineteenth century was a period in which Norway was finding herself, politically, sociologically, economically and culturally. Her native sons were challenged to greatness because she was in a hurry to catch up with the other nations of Europe and establish her own identity as a nation. We have seen that this was true in the area of music. Ole Bull and Edvard Grieg, the two chief musical interpreters of Norway to the world, proved that Norway not only spoke the language of music but that she spoke it with a Norwegian accent. Within her own boundaries Norwegian musicians stressed the importance of cultivating Norway's folk music. The male chorus sprang into being as a socio-musical organization to provide the common man with an opportunity to join with other men in singing, celebrating great events and just having a good time together--all under the flag of nationalism.

During the mid-century decades, the church, musically speaking, was forced into cultural backwaters. This was providential in one respect, for it compelled the church's greatest musician, Ludvig M. Lindeman, to focus his attention on an area in which he was uniquely equipped to be of service--the hymns of the church. But even this realm was not to escape the tag of nationalism, for Lindeman, trained in both the classical school of J. S. Bach and the national one of folk song--and working within the creatively stimulating atmosphere of romanticism--combined both emphases when he made his contribution to the music of the church. In this chapter will be discussed the liturgical history of the Norwegian church, the impact of Haugeanism, the confusion of hymnals which resulted in one common hymnal, the confusion of melody books which resulted in one chorale book--Lindeman's--and finally, Lindeman's work with the chant.

1. Liturgical Summary, prior to 1889

The musical situation in the church at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a very confused one. The musical foundation stone of the Sunday worship service[1] had long since become the hymn. Of all the musical prose portions of the traditional liturgy the congregation now sang only an occasional Amen, the response "And with thy spirit" to the pastor's salutation, "The Lord be with you," and the Gospel versicle, "God be praised for his glad tidings." More often than not even these responses were sung by a choir or, more likely yet, a precentor, singing on behalf of the congregation. As late as 1888 Oscar Moe, in his study of the history of the Norwegian liturgy, Vor Høimesse-Gudstjenestes Historie siden Reformationen (pp. 58-59), was urging his fellow pastors to teach the congregation to sing the above responses.[2]

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[1] The service was variously called Høimesse (high mass), Messe Embede (divine office), Gudstjeneste (divine service--literally, God's service), Praediken (the sermon) and occasionally Høipraediken (the high sermon).

That the evangelical hymn, and not the traditional prose text, had become the basis for the Lutheran service is understandable when one remembers that one of the cardinal tenets of the Lutheran reformation was to return to the congregation its role as an active participant in the service. The easiest, quickest and most effective way of doing this was to substitute appropriate vernacular hymns--some of which the people already knew--for the old prose texts.[3] These hymns then became fixed parts of the service. In the first decades of the Reformation era almost all of the hymns in the service were fixed, there being only a relatively small number of evangelical hymns available. With an ever increasing supply came a parallel demand for more freedom in choosing different hymns for use in the service. For this reason mainly, the number of fixed hymns in the service shrank from ten, out of a total of ten, in the Malmø-messe of 1528[4] to two, out of a possible total of nine or ten, in the Rescript of 1802; and these two--the versifications of the Gloria and Creed--soon went the way of the rest, as fixed hymns.[5]

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[2] (Kristiania, 1888).

[3] The most notable example of such a mass, though not the first, was Luther's Deutsche Messe, 1526, in which the Introit, Gradual, Creed and Sanctus were sung as hymns in German.

With the increasing choice of hymns, this choice being more and more accommodated to the changing portions of the mass--the proper, there came a consequent weakening of the ties with the traditionally fixed parts of the mass--the ordinary.[6] There were, of course, other factors which contributed to the changes wrought in the service. Changing theological climates; the practical differences between country and city parishes; church buildings, unheated in the winter, dank and stuffy in the summer; the piety of the people--all had their effect on the evolving liturgy and hymnody of the church.[7]

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[4] For a reprint of that mass, see Chr. Bruun, Psalmebøger fra Reformationstiden (Kjøbenhavn, 1865-66), pp. 93-123. There is good reason to believe that this is the oldest printed Scandinavian evangelical mass. See P. Severinsen Dansk Salmedigtning i Reformationstiden. Studier over våre aeldste Salmebøger (København, 1904), p. 23. Both books are in the Luther Seminary Library, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[5] O. Moe, op. cit., p. 43.

[6] Svend Borregaard, Danmarks og Norges kirkeritual af 1685 (København, 1953), p. 173. Borregaard also points out that, although it weakened the traditional structure of the mass, the hymn served to emphasize and expand its de tempore aspect.

The Church Ritual of 1685 is the order which, with its offspring, the Rescript of 1802, concerns us immediately. The Ritual was essentially a codification of practices current at the time it was formulated.[8] It became normative for the Danish-Norwegian church for two hundred years. As a consequence it was also normative for most of the Norwegian pioneer congregations in the United States.[9]

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7. One fact illustrates the generally conservative character of liturgical reform among the Scandinavian Lutherans: for one hundred fifty years after the Reformation Latin continued in use in the service on the high festivals. Not until the publishing of the Church Ritual of 1685 did Danish completely replace (with isolated exceptions) the Latin language. Its use, however, was limited to those places where a trained choir, usually the boys of a Latin school connected with a cathedral, could sing the service.

8. Borregaard, op. cit., p. 171.

9. Because of the detail necessary to give a reasonably accurate account of the course of the liturgical development from the Church Ritual of 1685 to the Altar Book of 1889, the sketch of its history is incorporated in an appendix rather than in the body of this chapter. See Appendix B, p. 348.

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2. Changes in the Church--Secularism, Revivals, Cultural Eclipse

Although the Ritual of 1685 was the liturgical norm for the worship of the church at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the pastors and people on the whole conservative in their attitude towards making changes in it, still there was widespread discontent with church worship.[10] The intellectual world was taken up with the various causes and slogans of the Enlightenment, and some of these reached into the church where they conflicted with the theology implicit in her liturgy and hymnody.[11] Since the inquiring mind, typical of the rationalist, questioned some of the basic tenets of the church (e.g. the belief expressed in the Creeds), the process of breaking the ancient, largely unquestioning bond of the people to the church gained impetus. This process resulted in, among other things, a new emphasis on the individual, a tendency which Gerhard Gran has said was one of the overriding characteristics of the nineteenth century.[12]

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[10] Helge Faehn, Ritualspørsmalet i Norge 1785-1813 (Oslo, 1956), p. 278.

[11] One result of this was the publication of a new hymnal. See Appendix B, p.354.

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[12] Introduction to Jean Jacques Rousseau (Kristiania, 1911), p. XV. For a pertinent comment on burgeoning individualism within the church, see Appendix B, p. 354, note17. Karen Larsen (op. cit., p. 360) says

p.354 n.17

The traditional solidarity of the church was also attacked from within at this time. In 1796 Hans Nielsen Hauge, a son of an east country bonde, experienced a spiritual awakening which resulted in his sensing a call to be a lay preacher.[13] His appeal was to the individual conscience, the renewal of the individual soul before the eyes of a just and gracious God. He preached, as did his later followers, to small gatherings of concerned and interested people in private homes.[14] His followers were largely country people, or city people who had come from the country. He did not advocate leaving the established church, but he criticized it sharply for its lack of genuine spiritual vitality and integrity. The principal

12. (cont.) that a new feeling of individual worth grew among the bønder in the 19th century, largely as one of the side effects of the Haugean revival movement--about which more follows below.

13. Recent writing in English on Hauge includes Joseph M. Shaw, Pulpit under the Sky, A Life of Hans Nielsen Hauge (Minneapolis, 1955), a documented, popularly written account of Hauge's life and influence. A brief bibliography is included. Short historical surveys may be found in Einar Molland, Fra Hans Nielsen Hauge til Eivind Berggrav (Oslo, 1951), translated into English by Harris Kaasa and published under the title, Church Life in Norway 1800-1950 (Minneapolis, 1957), pp. 3-20, and E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans. A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Minneapolis, 1960), I, pp. 13-23.

14. Adolph Tidemand's impressions of these meetings have **been preserved in his paintings, which hang in the National Gallery, Oslo.**

result of the Haugean awakening was a wave of individual piety which gradually infiltrated the formal church life, not quite transforming it and too often content with existing alongside it. It did, however, radically influence the course of the church in the nineteenth century, both in Norway and America. One of its results was the development of a lay activity which operated more or less independently of the church, establishing, among other things, a world-wide mission enterprise.

Another, less fortunate, result, and one which so often materializes as a by-product of intense evangelistic fervor, was the general cultural blight which settled over the church. Haugean evangelists used folk music to good effect in propagating Christian doctrine by setting texts to new, as well as to familiar melodies.[15] But they reserved scorn for other types of music making. Einar Molland, in his description of the Haugean movement, says, "The Haugeaners are the puritans of Norway. Their stand on the adiaphora was one of absolute rejection. Time and again, lively young men and women who had previously found joy in dancing and gaiety, music and card playing, turned their backs on all these pleasures and denounced them. Fiddlers smashed their violins, and it was a rare exception when one of them spared his instrument and used it for playing hymns.[16]

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[15] Catharinus Elling, in a monograph entitled, Vore Religiøse Folketoner (Oslo, 1927), p. 9, says that these traveling lay preachers spread scores of newly-created religious folk songs all over Norway. See also O. M. Sandvik's reference to the singing activity of the evangelists in Norsk Kirkemusik (Oslo, 1918), p. 67. Central in Hauge's own spiritual breakthrough was the hymn, "Jesus, I long for thy blessed communion" (Molland, op. cit., p. 5), and he himself wrote and published hymns. See note 36, p. 65.

n 36 p 65

In the mid-'forties began the stirrings of what became known as the Johnsonian Revival.[17] Contemporary with it came an increasing secularization of society which grew throughout the century,[18] and, consequent upon the two, a compulsion on the part of the church to draw lines of demarcation between what was considered sacred and what secular. The result for the church was, among other things, the exclusion of all music making except what was specifically called for in the church

16. Molland, op. cit., p. 19.

17. Gisle Johnson, a professor in the theological faculty, who combined a legalistic personal piety with a stern Lutheran orthodoxy, was the leading light. What happened in Oslo eventually had repercussions all over Norway since all the pastors were trained at the university there. Discussions of this period may be found in Molland, pp. 35-48, Larsen, op. cit., pp. 451 and 468, and Nelson-Fevold, op. cit., pp. 32-45.

18. Molland, op. cit., p. 2.

orders. Conradi makes mention of the church concerts given in the 'forties--"which not only made for an appreciation of noble music but surely served to heighten the religious sensitivity of the listeners"--and laments the fact that they have since ceased.[19] Hernes says that Ludvig Lindeman, who at Vor Frelsers church in Oslo occupied the most prestigious organist's post in Norway, was not once allowed to give any organ recitals in his church.[20] This situation did not change appreciably until the last quarter of the century.

Two basic changes then took place within the church. The first was the supplanting of the traditional boys' choir in the church with one made up of unmarried women, whose main job was leading the congregational singing.[21] The second change was more significant because it indicated

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19. Op. cit., p. 40.

20. Op. cit., p. 108. Hernes' information must be accepted with some caution. W. P. Sommerfeldt, in listing musical events in Oslo in the year 1875, notes that Ludvig Lindeman's gifted brother, Just R. Lindeman, presented a series of three church concerts (at least one of which was in Vor Frelsers church) on Nov. 29 and Dec. 4 and 10, which included organ, instruments and choir. "Musikklivet i Oslo da Ole blev født," _Festskrift til O. M. Sandvik_ (Oslo, 1945), pp. 244-245. It seems highly unlikely that Just Lindeman would be allowed to give a concert in the same church in which his brother, Ludvig, the residing organist, was forbidden to do so.

21. Arno Berg and Bernhard Hagtvedt, _Vor Frelsers Kirke_ (Oslo, 1950), p. 376.

a gradual shift in the thinking of the clergy about music in the church. For thirty years now there had virtually been a ban on the performance of "profane" music in church. In effect, this limited church music to the hymns, the sung portions of the liturgy, incidental service music on the organ and an occasional chorale sung by the boys' choir--normally, unison with organ accompaniment. Bernhard Hagtvedt says that Christian Cappelen, an organist in Drammen who later succeeded Ludvig M. Lindeman as organist in Vor Frelsers church in Oslo when the latter died in 1887, was the first church musician who succeeded in breaking the ban. In the late 'seventies he began to give organ recitals in Bragernes church in Drammen. Strangely enough, to begin with he was limited to organ works. Later, he was assisted by vocalists, such as Thorvald and Molly Lammers and Gina Oselio, who sang hymns and religious folk songs.[22] In Oslo the change in the official attitude began to be marked when Lammers sought and finally received permission from reluctant church authorities in 1881 to perform Mendelssohn's Elijah in Vor Frelsers church.[23]

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[22] Ibid., p. 381. The fact that Jørgen Moe, who, with Peder Asbjørnsen, had collected and edited the Norwegian ballads and legends, and was otherwise a leading figure in the literary world, was pastor in Bragernes church at the time undoubtedly accounts in part for the more enlightened circumstances which must have obtained there.

3. Early Hymnals

A further example of the confusion which existed in the music of the church is the situation that surrounded the church hymnal during the first three-quarters of the century.[24] This was probably the more serious because the service was so largely predicated on the singing of hymns. At the turn of the century there existed no fewer than three official hymnals. They were Den forordnede Kirke Psalmebog, 1699, edited by Thomas Kingo and usually called Kingo's Salmebog; the Psalmebog of 1778, edited by Ludvig Harboe and O. H. Guldberg, and called Guldbergs Salmebog; the third was the Evangelisk-Christelig Psalmebog of 1798, edited by N. E. Balle. All three were Danish editions.

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[23] Loc. cit.

[24] An ambiguity arises immediately when one starts to use the words "hymn" and "hymnal." In English the word "hymn" usually connotes both text and music, likewise with "hymnal." In Norwegian, however, the word "salme" means a hymn text, and a salmebog is a collection of hymn texts. Whereas we are used to printing text and music together, the Danes and Norwegians, after 1740, have them in separate editions (with some rare exceptions), calling the melody book usually a koralbok (Gm. Choralbuch). The English reader is further warned to beware of the figurative titles given much 19th century Norwegian poetry, e.g. sang, tone, harpe, vise, etc.. These words usually denote verse. Thus Jonas Dahl's Orgeltoner (Kristiania, 1901), has nothing whatsoever to do with organs or tunes. It is a collection of poetry. This ambiguity goes far to explain the mistakes committed by two recent writers who have generalized too readily and placed M. B. Landstad (compiler and editor of Salmebogen and Norske Folkeviser) in the ranks of the musicians. See Joseph M. Shaw, Pulpit Under the Sky (Minneapolis, 1955), p. 189 and O. E. Eidbo "Songs of the Norwegian Folk in Culture and Education in the United States," unpublished dissertation (University of North Dakota, 1956), p. 27. Eidbo's careless use of the terms just described on pages 57 and 58 of his thesis leads the reader to draw false conclusions.

Of the three, Kingo was the only one specifically edited to satisfy the requirements of the Church Ritual of 1685. The first thirty-one of its hymns are either full hymns or single stanzas which are specified as liturgical elements in the various services. By the time Guldberg was published, almost one hundred years later, changes had crept into the service. There were now forty-nine hymns specified for the service but they were no longer the same as the Kingo hymns. The Kyrie had fallen away, an "opening hymn" replacing it.[25] Guldberg did not even print the Kyrie hymns the Ritual called for. At about this time a two-fold complaint against The Ritual was developing among the clergy. The hymns were too long and tiresome,[26] and the fixed texts, used over and over

[25] Søde Jesu vi er her (Liebster Jesu wir sind hier).

[26] In the discussion below on the music of the hymns we will come upon one of the main causes for this complaint. This complaint was lodged against Guldberg also, in addition to another that his language

again, had become a dry well of inspiration for the preacher. The pastors craved change in both areas.[27]

With these thoughts in mind, therefore, the editors of the Evangelical-Christian hymnal gave the book a new format. No longer were the church year and the service to determine the order. Since it was thought that the pastors were soon to be free to choose their own texts, it was reasoned that they should also choose their hymns.[28]

26. (cont.) was too high-flown for the average churchgoer. H. Blom Svendsen, Norsk Salmesang, 1. Bind, Arven fra gammel tid (Bergen, 1935), pp. 246-250. See also Johan Sebastian Welhaven's sharp critique of the existing hymnals: "Antydninger til et forbedret Psalmevaerk for den norske Kirke," (1840), Samlede Skrifter (Kjøbenhavn, 1868), VI, pp. 3-73. Welhaven calls Guldberg's poetry "Klopstockian."

27. It is an accepted fact that the church at this time was in sore need of revitalizing. One of the principal causes for the success of Hans Nielsen Hauge in Norway was the fact that the church had fallen far short of providing for the spiritual needs of the people. The Sunday service was the principal point at which the church met the people, and the service, judging from contemporary reports, had become a rather tedious affair--a situation which was not improved by the current vogue of rationalistic thought which infected the sermons and looked upon the service as a whole as principally an aid in the edification of man. This basically anthropocentric view of the service is central in Christian Bastholm's Forsøg til en forbedret Plan i den udvortes Gudstieneste (Proposal for an Improved Order in the Divine Services) (Kjøbenhavn, 1785), bound with other of his writings in Adskilligt of Bastholm. The first title page carries the heading Tvende Sørge-Taler over hendes kongelige Høihed Høisalig Printsesse Charlotte Amalia and the date 1782. Bastholm suggests, among other things, free texts, shorter hymns and their free selection. See Faehn, op. cit., whose entire book deals with the period between 1785 and 1813. See also the discussion in Appendix B.

28. Faehn, op. cit., p. 87.

Consequently, the hymnal came out with the hymns arranged according to subject matter. Gone, too, in addition to the church year, were the pericopes and prayers which had been included in every other hymnal.[29] The process of reducing the number of fixed hymns, already begun in Guldberg, was carried still further.[30] The pastor could now use almost any hymn at almost any point in the service. Obviously, some change had to be made in the rubrics governing the Ritual. This was done in the Rescript of 1802.[31] The changes were relatively conservative, the principle of hymn selection having been already established in fact by usage.[32]

If this hymnal had been calculated to win the applause of the people, it fell far short of its goal--at least in Norway. It was opposed from the start. It had left out many of the well-known hymns and re-edited others to conform with the tastes of the day. Its poetry, molded and polished to appeal to the "common man," had lost all life.[33] Moreover, the rationalistic

[29] They were added in later editions.

[30] The Kyrie had disappeared with Guldberg. Now the Litany also was no longer considered fit for inclusion in the hymnal.

[31] For the amended order of the Ritual, see Appendix B, p. .

[32] Faehn, op. cit., p. 87.

[33] Svendsen, op. cit., pp. 261-264.

theology implicit in many of its hymns disturbed people who had inherited a long tradition of solid Lutheran doctrine. They came to accept the use of the hymnal in church but they refused to use it at home.[34] It won widest acceptance in the principal cities of the four Norwegian bishoprics whose incumbents at the time of the issuance of the hymnal were theologically in sympathy with the current trends--Christiansand, Christiania, Trondhjem and Tromsø. The fifth bishop, Johan Nordahl Brun of Bergen, successfully opposed the introduction of the hymnal into his diocese.[35]

In the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century private hymn collections proliferated in Norway, partly as a result of dissatisfaction with the three authorized hymnals, partly as a corollary of the religious revivals.[36]

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[34] J. N. Skaar, Den evangelisk-kristelige Salmebogs Historie i Trondhjems Bispedømme (Kristiania, 1895), pp. 51-52.

[35] M. B. Landstad, Om Salmebogen (Kristiania, 1862), p. 13 and Faehn, op. cit., p. 84, who points out that Brun's reasons for rejecting the book were, at least in part, economical, it being too expensive for the people to buy another book so soon after the last one (Guldberg).

[36] Skaar, op. cit., p. 48 ff., who mentions the fact that a hymn collection which H. N. Hauge published in 1799, called De sande Christnes udvalgte Salmebog, saw 9 reprintings within 50 years. Two articles which treat in detail all of the Norwegian hymn writing, except Landstad and Andreas Hauge (Hans

They underscored the need for a single, unifying hymnal for the whole church. And Norway, independent since 1814, began to think in terms of a specifically Norwegian hymnal.

4. Landstad's Salmebog

In the 'twenties the clergy had begun to agitate for one single book, even while the church department was busily working to get the 1798 hymnal accepted as widely as possible.[37] Eventually, the department faced up to the need but could not decide on whether the task should be undertaken by a commission or a single individ-

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36. (cont.) Nielsen's son), between 1814 and 1869 are Halkild Nilsen, "Salmediktning og Salmesamling i Norge i Tiden fra 1814-1869" (Bortsett fra Landstad og A. Hauge), Norvegia Sacra, 8. arg. (1928), pp. 43-154 and Hermann Norendal, "Salmediktning og Salmesamling i Norge i tiden fra 1814-1869" (Bortsett fra Landstad og A. Hauge), Norvegia Sacra, 9. arg. (1929), pp. 1-187. One of the hymnals discussed in Norendal(p. 34) is Jens Johnsen's Christelig Psalmebog (Drammen, 1846), which was adopted as the official hymnal of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, headed by Elling Eielsen, at a meeting in Lisbon, Illinois in 1854. It was not used, however. See Chapter three, p. 121.

[37] H. Blom Svendsen, Norsk Salmesang, 2. Bind, Landstad og Hauge (Bergen, 1933), p. 4. This volume and its companion, Vol. 1, Norsk Salmesang. Arven fra gammel tid (Bergna, 1935), are Vols. IX and VIII, respectively, of Bibliotheca Norvegiae Sacrae, Skrifter til Kunnskap om den Norske Kirke i Fortid og Samtid, edited by Oluf Kolsrud.

ual. Time, as it turned out, served the best interests of all because, as the years wore on without decision, the name of Pastor M. B. Landstad came up with increasing frequency in the suggestions from various quarters as to who should do the job.[38] He turned back the department's first approach in 1848, but when they asked him again four years later he accepted.[39] This was another case in which circumstances brought together the right man and the right job. Landstad was peculiarly qualified, being a combination of a scholar and a poet who had the common touch. He was just in the process of finishing a _magnum opus_, the scholarly edition of old Norwegian ballads. This was published in 1853 under the title _Norske Folkeviser_. This work alone would have secured him a permanent place in Norwegian letters. As events had it, it also served to prepare him for his work on the hymnbook. In 1855, as a forecast of the coming hymnal, and as a public sampler of his work, he issued _Martin Luthers Aandelige Sange_, his translations of Martin Luther's _Geistliche Lieder_.[40] In 1856, with the same purpose in mind, he published _Jule-Salmer_ (Christmas Hymns), the

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[38] Ibid., pp. 4-8.

[39] Ibid., pp. 14 and 22.

[40] It was reissued in 1859 with traditional Lutheran chorale tunes, harmonized and annotated by Ludvig M. Lindeman.

Christmas section of the book. In 1861 he issued his Kirke-Salmebog, et Udkast (Proposed Church Hymnal). After revisions, it was adopted, entitled Kirkesalmebog, and authorized in 1869 for use throughout the country. Norway now had a common hymnal, and one, furthermore which had been edited by a Norwegian who had an ear for the cadence of the Norwegian language.[41] It won immediate acclaim. In 1855, when he had just begun his work, a survey of the country's parishes showed that out of eight hundred sixty-two congregations Kingo was used in three hundred forty-two,[42] Guldberg and the Evangelical-Christian hymnal in two hundred sixty each.[43] In 1879, ten years after it was published, Landstad's hymnal had been accepted into six hundred forty-eight of the country's then nine hundred twenty-three congregations.[44] Its widespread adoption was immeasurably hastened by the

[41] Four years later another hymnal was published by Andreas Hauge. His approach to both choice and editing of hymns was more conservative than Landstad's. His hymnal was also authorized for use, but did not achieve the recognition or wide usage of Landstad's. Svendsen II, op. cit., p. 60.

[42] These were mostly country congregations where the comparatively rough-hewn, old-fashioned style of Kingo appealed to the people.

[43] Landstad, op. cit., p. 12.

[44] J. N. Skaar, Norsk Salmehistorie (Bergan, 1880), II, p. 622.

the publishing in 1871 and 1872 of Lindeman's Melodier til Landstads Salmebog, the accompanying book of melodies. This publication was highly controversial in church music circles, and some account must now be made of its history, as well as that of its author.[45]

5. Early Chorale Books

We have noted above the existence and use of three, separate, authorized text hymnals at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The confusion resulting from this state of affairs was not lessened by the fact that there existed no fewer than three melody books to serve them--none of which contained all of the melodies necessary to satisfy the needs of all three hymnals. These three melody books had all come into being in the comparatively short time between 1764 and 1801. Prior to 1764 the text books had also contained melody lines and organists had to rely for their harmonizations on German Choral-

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45. The influence of Lindeman is still evident in the current hymnody of American Lutherans. In the Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis, 1941) he is represented by 4 tunes, and in the Service Book and Hymnal (1958) by 6. In the latter book only 10 composers (9 of them from the 19th century) have more than 6 tunes ascribed to them.

bücher, or play by ear--which not a few did.

The first official hymnal of the Danish church was that of Hans Thomissøn, 1569. This is looked upon as the "classic" among Danish hymnals.[46] In it are found most of the early Lutheran chorales in their pristine form. It enjoyed nine successive editions, the last one coming out in 1674. In addition to Danish hymns, the edition of 1586 contained Latin texts and music for the Introit, Gloria, Sequence, Creed, some hymns and the Sanctus. Thomissøn was edited with the congregation in mind. Its counterpart for choir and pastor was the Gradual edited by Niels Jesperssøn in 1573.[47]

Thomissøn and Jesperssøn continued in use throughout what is generally called the "golden age" of the Lutheran chorale--a period extending well into the seventeenth century. They were both replaced in 1699 by Thomas Kingo's Gradual.[48] By this time influences outside the

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46. Erik Abrahamsen, Liturgisk Musik i den danske kirke efter Reformationen (Kjøbenhavn, 1919), p. 99.

47. Ibid., p. 100.

48. Its full title was Gradual, En Ny Almindelig Salmebog (Gradual, a new General Hymnal). This Gradual, which was also a hymnal, and the Church Ritual of 1685, which it was designed to complement, both contained Danish material exclusively and marked the official end of the use of Latin in the Danish-Norwegian church. **There is an original edition of Kingo's Gradual in the Koren Library, Luther College.**

church had begun to have a deleterious effect on the original form of the chorale, and some of Kingo's versions of the old melodies show it, e.g. Enhver som troer (Est ist das Heil)(see Plate III). Kingo, however, was not consistent, so not all the traditional melodies were altered.[49] Furthermore, Kingo was determinative in the development of religious folk music in Norway. As noted above, (p. 62), certain hymns (e.g. the Kyrie hymns) were used every Sunday as liturgical elements in the service. In country districts these tunes became sources for scores of variant melodies which were sung both in church and at home.[50]

The Danish counterpart of the Freylinghausen Gesangbuch was the hymnal which Erik Pontoppidan published in 1740, called Den nye Psalme-Bog. This was the last of the hymnals which contained melodies with the text. It was not authorized for general use, but found use mainly in the royal chapels.[51]

The first chorale book, that is, a book of melodies,

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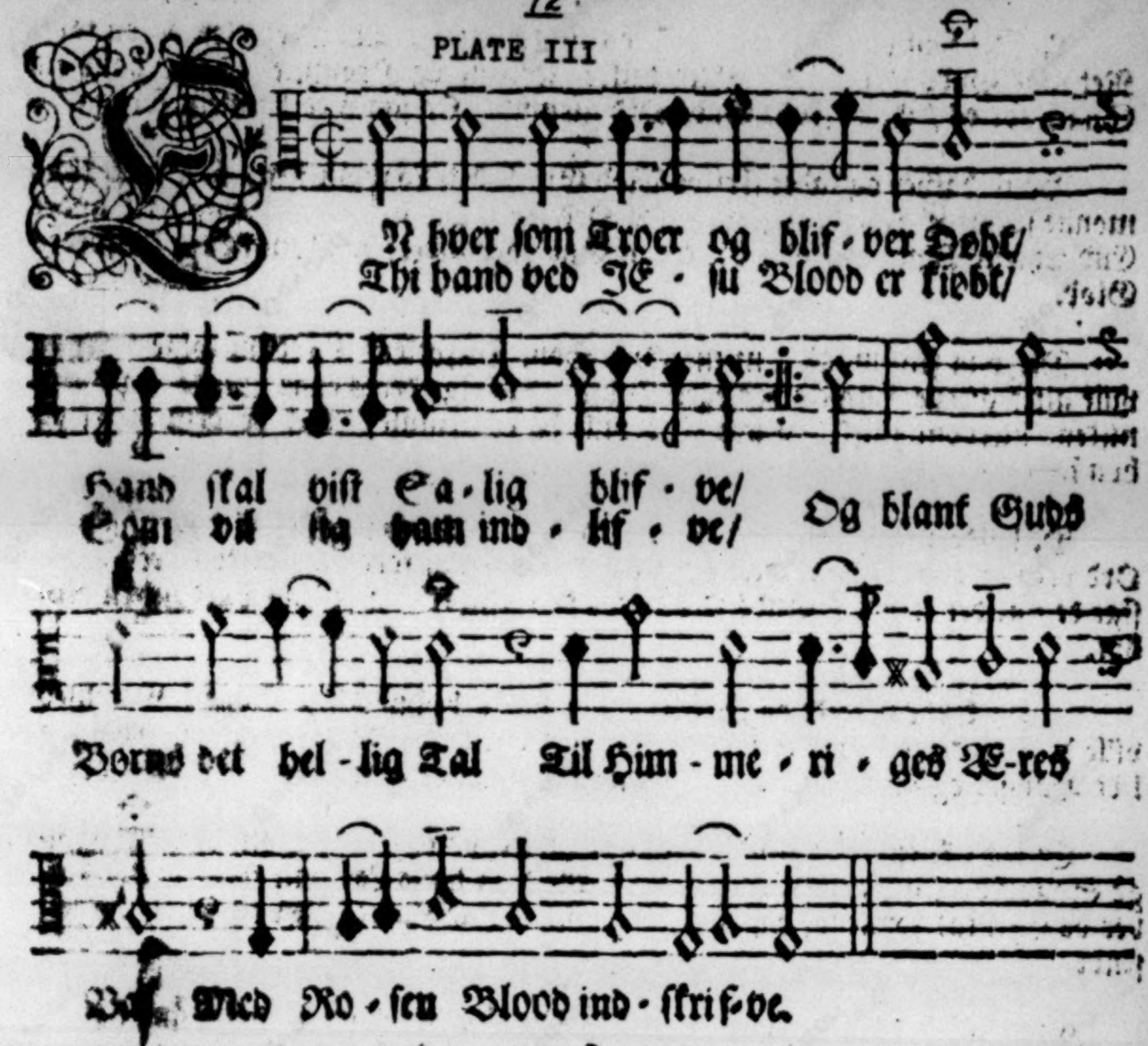
49. Thomas Laub, Musik og Kirke (Kjøbenhavn, 1920), p. 125 and O. M. Sandvik, Norsk Koralhistorie (Oslo, 1930), p. 16.

50. Sandvik, Koralhistorie, p. 17.

51. Sandvik, loc. cit.

PLATE III


N hver ſom Troer og blif-ver Døbt/
Thi hand ved JE-ſu Blood er kiøbt/
Hand ſkal viſt Sa-lig blif-ve/
Som vil ſig ham ind-lif-ve/
Og blant Guds
Børns det hel-lig Tal Til Him-me-ri-ges Æ-res
Bo Med Ro-ſen Blood ind-ſkrif-ve.

2.

Vi ſucke alle Hiertelig Og udi Troen ſige Med Hiertens Bøn en hver for ſig: O JEſu/ lad os ſtige Ved Daabens Kraft i Opder[illegible]/ Og føer os ſaa ved Troen hiem Til Ærens æwig Rige.

Eller det førſte Vers af

Chriſtus kom ſelf til Jordans Flood/

Og ſomme Tider det ſidſte Vers af ſamme

Pſalme:

Vore Øyne ſeer alleeniſte Vand/

Eller det fierde Vers af

Mit Barn frygt dend ſande Gud.

Saa vel ſom og tillige med det ſidſte Vers af ſamme

Pſalme/ om Communionen følger ſtrax paa.

Paa Landet imedens der Ofres med Barnet.

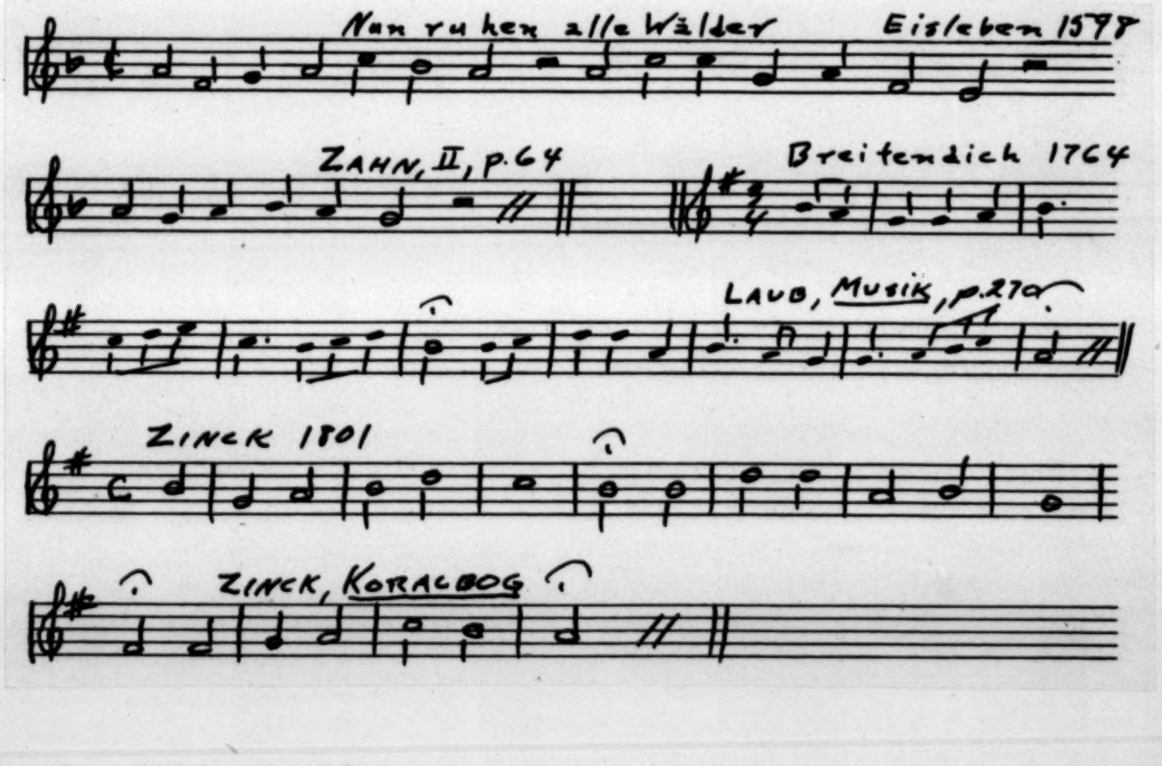
Chriſtus kom ſelf til Jordans Flood.

Eller:

Gud Fader/Søn og hellig Aand Hannem etc.

Med og under Communionen Siunges.

issued to accompany a hymnal with texts only, was the book published by Fr. Chr. Breitendich in 1764 and called simply Choral-Bog. In his foreword Breitendich says he is issuing it because copies of the Gradual of 1699 were becoming scarce.[52] Breitendich's version of Nu hviler Mark og Enge (Nun ruhen alle Wälder) shows clearly the extent to which the chorale had declined from its pristine form. Quarter and eighth notes, filled-in skips, running passages and dotted rhythms characterize Breitendich's style.


Nun ruhen alle Wälder
Eisleben 1598
ZAHN, II, p. 64
Breitendich 1764
LAUB, MUSIK, p. 27a
ZINCK 1801
ZINCK, KORALBOG

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[52] Ibid., p. 20.

The next chorale book was Niels Schiørring's, issued in 1781 and again in 1783 to accompany Guldberg's hymnal of 1778. Schiørring was a pupil of C. P. E. Bach, and some of the current spirit of the enlightenment is revealed in his foreword. He says that he has tried "to give our old church melodies their former simplicity and dignity again...These melodies are true church melodies, easy and intelligible without being banal or monotonous...They incite the mind to cheerfulness, joy and devotion, not to play or pleasure..."[53] To restore the chorales to their "former simplicity and dignity" Schiørring adopted the half note as the basic syllabic value.[54] In addition he cut out Breitendich's written-in ornamentation, substituting an occasional ornamentation symbol at the cadence in the style of the art music of the time. Laub says that with Schiørring the principal interest in the chorale shifts from the melody to the harmony.[55]

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53. Quoted in Sandvik, Koralhistorie, p. 21.

54. This was a custom which was followed in subsequent chorale books for ninety years and which had a great deal to do with nineteenth century developments in congregational singing in Norway and among Norwegian immigrants in the United States.

55. Op. cit., p. 126.

Zinck's Choralbog followed Schiørring's, in 1801, as the companion to the Evangelisk-kristelige Psalmebog of 1798. Like Schiørring, Zinck used half notes as the basic value and employed fermata signs over the final note of the phrase. Because of the slow tempo at which the hymn was sung, organists took to relieving the tedium by ornamenting the long half notes of the melody and playing little fantasies during the hold at the ends of phrases.[56] Zinck left out Schiørring's ornamentation signs, and reduced all but two of the chorales to duple meter, including Alenest Gud (Allein Gott). Since secular music of the time used the quarter note as a basic time unit, it is small wonder that organists and people in church sang their half note hymns at a slow pace. The mere sight of the even, unhurried half notes, two to the bar, had a deadening effect on those who led the singing of the congregations.[57] The tempo of the hymn

56. The congregation with a skilled organist was, in effect, merely singing a cantus firmus to the organist's chorale prelude. References to this practice, which was called mellemspil (German: Zwischenspiel), may be found in Sandvik, pp. 24 and 36; H. Grüner-Nielsen, "Degnesang i Herning-Egnen i 1860-erne," Festskrift til H. P. Hansen, ed. Peter Skantrup (København, 1949), p. 245; Carl-Allen Moberg, Kyrkomusikens Historia (Stockholm, 1932), p. 443, and Johs. Zahn, Handbüchlein für evangelische Kantoren und Organisten (Gutersloh, 1899), p. 34. The chorale books were sometimes copied by hand, the copier writing in his own ornamentations.

57. Sandvik, Koralhistorie, p. 24.

singing was to be the greatest single complaint among church musicians during the nineteenth century in Norway and later in America. The speed of the hymns and their number in the service led many of the parishioners to adopt the habit of coming late to the service and leaving when the sermon was over.[58]

6. The Precentor

In country churches, where there were very few organs, congregations depended entirely upon the singing services of the precentor.[59] Most precentors could not read notes, so they learned and taught hymns by rote.[60]

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[58] This was also partly due to the idea that the sermon was the most important element in the service anyway. Faehn, op. cit., p. 34.

[59] He was variously called forsanger, klokker, degne, kirkesanger. Because he was a key figure in the congregation, accounts of the lives and vicissitudes of the precentor abound in Danish and Norwegian writings. Among writings of special interest here are Sandvik, Koralhistorie, pp. 35-36; Grüner-Nielsen, op. cit., pp. 239-249; J. N. Skaar, "Kirkesalmebøger og Salmedigtere," p. 9 in the supplement to M. B. Landstad, Kirkesalmebog (Kristiania, 1892) and Gustava Kielland, op. cit., pp. 173-184.

[60] Skaar, op. cit., p. 5 and NM, I, p. 66.

The precentor was also the country school teacher, and he taught hymns to his pupils as part of their regular instruction. Since the precentor depended on his memory and his intuitive sense of what sounded right, it was inevitable that different versions of the well-known hymn tunes would show up in various places. Witness to the fact that this happened all over Norway are the scores of variants on chorale tunes in the folk song collections of Ludvig Lindeman, Catharinus Elling, O. M. Sandvik and others. This was especially true in the districts where Kingo's book remained in use.[61] The people, furthermore, being often of artistic bent, ornamented the chorales as they sang them, doing arabesques and grace notes on the long notes, whole congregations achieving a remarkable skill in repeating the ornaments exactly and in adjusting the melody when a subsequent stanza had a slightly different meter from the first.[62]

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61. Many of these tunes appear among the folk tunes which Ludvig M. Lindeman collected and published in his Aeldre og nyere norske Fjeldmelodier samlede og bearbeidede for Pianoforte (Christiania, 1853-1867). In his book Kingo-tona (Oslo, 1941), O. M. Sandvik discusses and analyzes these tunes.

62. O. M. Sandvik, Gregoriansk Sang (Oslo, 1945), p. 104; Elling, op. cit., p. 16 and Grüner-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 240. Grüner-Nielsen's article concerns the Danish precentor, Evald Tang Kristensen, who took a position

7. Lars Roverud and his salmodikon

None of this, of course, made for anything resembling a unified picture of music in the church. It was in the light of this situation that Lars Roverud made his complaint in his discussion of music in Norway in 1815. "In most of the country churches," he says, "there are no organs, and where there are, the organists usually are not trained. Some play although they cannot read a note, accompanying the hymns in their own way, the more 'hocus-pocus,' trills and runs they can add to each stanza the better. Preludes are usually of their own fabrication (af egen fabrik)."[63] According to Anna Lindhjem, approximately thirty country churches had organs in 1814. Most of these were probably one manual positives without pedal, some probably "home made."[64] Such organs can be quite adequate to direct the singing of an average congregation, but the lack of technical competence on the part

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62. (cont.) as teacher and congregational song leader in a country parish in the 1860's. He tried to reform the singing habits of his congregation and teach them to sing according to the book, as he had been taught. He tried in vain, however, eventually deciding to join the people and sing the hymns their way, with their ornaments.

[63] NM, I, p. 67.

[64] Faehn, op. cit., p. 79.

of the organist was more damaging to the music.

It is to Roverud's credit that he did not only complain about the sorry state of music in Norway. He tried to do something about it. He was born in 1777 and attended the cathedral school as a boy. So he received the typical classical education of the day. When he refused to study theology, as his father wanted him to do, he was disowned by him and proceeded to follow his own inclination to study music. We have noted above his general activity in Oslo as a private teacher and participant in the musical affairs of the Lyceum. Because of his interest in singing, he was especially drawn to church music. In order to improve his instruction in singing he made a study trip to Leipzig in 1819, returning a year later in possession of a number system for teaching scale steps. Casting about for some sort of an instrumental aid to help in teaching melodies, he began to tinker with an old single-stringed Danish instrument, which had been variously called Eenstrengen (the single string) and Psalmodicon. He improved its tone, placed frets on the fingerboard and perfected a system of transposition by means of interchangeable charts for the various keys, which could be placed on the fingerboard. To this he now adapted his number system. With numbers on the charts, and the melody to be played reduced to numbered scale steps, anybody who could read the numbers could play the melody. It was an ingeniously simple device. Although the idea for such a one-stringed instrument was not new,[65] Roverud's adaptation made of it a practical musical tool, and as such it was used by countless precentors, pastors and teachers to pick out the notes of unfamiliar tunes or to fix in the memory the doubtful scale steps of known melodies.[66] The instrument had the added advantage of being so simply constructed that a normally inventive man could make one out of ordinary materials. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw thousands of salmodikoner in use in church, school and home in both Norway and America.[67]

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65. In fact, it was at least as old as Pythagoras and his theoretical musical system in Greece.

66. Most of this information about Roverud and his activity with the salmodikon and his subsequent teaching journeys is taken from Leif Løchen, "Kantor Lars Roverud og hans salmodikon," By og Bygd, 11. Bind 1956-57 (Oslo, 1958), pp. 85-95. Løchen also questions the formerly held theory that a Swedish pastor, Johannes Dillner, invented the salmodikon.

67. Although the instrument is largely unknown today, there are instances of its being used. The Walther Thompson family of Madison, Wisconsin have until recently given recitals in which they used the salmodikon for accompaniment. This information was given the author by Miss Beulah Folkedahl, of Northfield, Minnesota.

In 1835 Roverud persuaded the Education and Church Department to send him out to conduct singing seminars in different localities to train the precentors and teachers.[68] His first trip convinced the authorities of the feasibility of his idea. So, for the next twelve years, armed with as many as four _salmodikoner_ (to play parts) and a quartet of men, Roverud made intermittent trips throughout the length and breadth of Norway conducting his classes and demonstrations in singing. His activities are recorded as far north as Hammerfest[69] and as far south as Kristiansand.[70]

8. O. A. Lindeman, his Chorale Book and his Family

In addition to Roverud's pioneering activity, the year 1835 marks a milestone in the history of Norwegian hymnody. In that year the first Norwegian _koralbok_, compiled by O. A. Lindeman, was authorized. For various

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68. Ibid., p. 91.

69. _Norsk biografisk leksikon_, eds. Einar Jansen and Paulus Svendsen (Oslo, 1954), p. 9.

70. Hjalmar Kielland, _En gammel prests efterladte papirer_ (Kristiania, 1922), p. 165.

reasons it did not appear until three years later.[71] Its great merit over the three other existing collections of tunes was that it could satisfy the demands of all three of the authorized hymnals--Kingo, Guldberg and the Evangelical-Christian. Musically, it followed in the tradition of Schiørring and Zinck, proceeding in even half notes, favoring duple meter,[72] placing stress on the harmonization of the melody.

With the purpose of bringing about some measure of unity in the music of the church the use of this chorale book was made obligatory. It was to supersede and exclude all others.[73] Needless to say, conditions being what they were in the various parts of the country, the order was never carried out to the letter. Where there was an organ, the organist could play out of the new book and impose his will on the congregation, but they, as often as not, merely quit singing if the tune was new or the tempo different from that to which they had been accustomed.

[71] The fact that it was authorized before it was completed is a measure of the confidence that its compiler enjoyed.

[72] Even In dulci jubilo was now put into duple meter.

[73] This is stated on the title page of the book.

Where there was no organ, and where the precentor tried to follow the book, the people simply ignored and outsang him.[74] This was particularly true of the country churches where the people preferred to sing the old tunes in the manner they had been used to for decades. Their manner of singing had life and variety of rhythm and they disliked the plodding even beats of the tunes in the authorized book. The issuance of this book and its manner of authorization produced a dissatisfaction and unrest which were in some respects even more marked than the confusion which had existed before it came out. Then, at least, the congregation was free to choose its own tunes. Now it was not.[75] However, not all reactions to the book were negative. Even those who deplored the treatment that the chorale melodies received acknowledged the good taste with which they were harmonized, although, of course, this aspect of the chorales went unrecognized and unappreciated in most of the churches--i.e. those without organs.[76] Probably the greatest value of the book lay in the fact that it met all the musical requirements of the three authorized hymnals--Kingo, Guldberg and the Evangelical-Christian, thus beginning the process of restoring order to the chaotic musical situation in the church.[77] In this respect its contribution to the church could be likened to that of Landstad's Salmebog. Where that had provided a single source for the hymn texts, the Choralbog now did this for the tunes. However, here the comparison of the relative worth of the two publications ceases. The peculiar poetic qualities which Landstad brought to his hymnal were not to be matched by this 1835 Choralbog, edited and arranged by Ole Andreas Lindeman, but by the 1871 Melodier edited by his son, Ludvig M. Lindeman.

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[74] See Skaar above, p. 76, note 59 and NM, I, p. 66. Cf. also Grüner-Nielsen, p. 78, note 62.

[75] There was an element of national pride involved in the use of this chorale book since it was the first to be issued in Norway. Up to this time country congregations without organs had relied largely on the Kingo hymnal, partly on Guldberg, singing the old melodies from memory, except where patient precentors had wrought a change. The post-Kingo chorale books, which were designed to be used by an organist, affected them much less than they did the city congregations. This is why the insistence on the use of the Lindeman book caused such a stir. For three and a half decades there continued to be loud demands to the church department to rescind its order regarding the obligatory use of this one book. Sandvik devotes an entire chapter to this controversy in his Norsk Koralhistorie.

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[76] A country organist who did appreciate O. A. Lindeman's book played in Fosness church in Ytre Namdal, where the book was still in use in 1938. A. Hernes, Ole Andreas Lindeman og hans tid (Oslo, 1956), p. 169.

[77] Its full title states this purpose: Choral-Bog, indeholdende de i Kingos, Guldbergs og den evangelisk-christelige Psalmebog forekommende Melodier (Chorale Book, containing the melodies encountered in the Kingo, Guldberg and the Evangelical-Christian hymnals).

The Lindemans were a musical family.[78] One is tempted to liken them to the Bach family. Ole Andreas (1769-1857) was for many years the only church musician in Norway trained in the "classical" tradition of church music. He could trace a direct musical lineage back to Bach. His immediate teacher was Israel Wernicke in Copenhagen, who was in turn a pupil of Johann Kirnberger and C. P. E. Bach, the latter a son of Joh. Seb. Bach, and both his pupils. O. A. Lindeman brought the Bach tradition to Norway and it lived on in his sons and pupils.[79] Of his ten children, all but two were gifted

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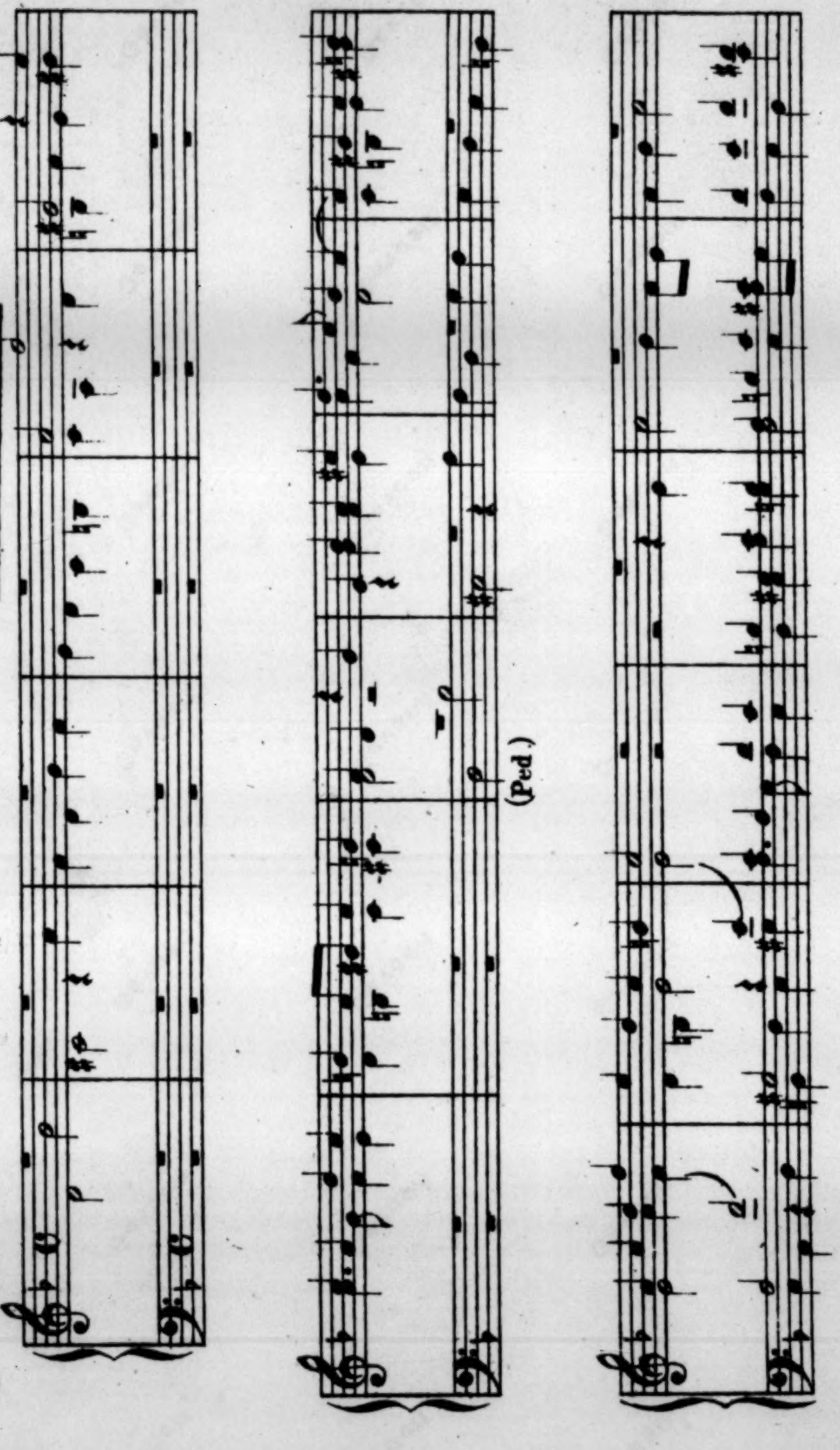
78. Information on the Lindeman family must be gathered from scattered sources. The only two books dealing exclusively with the family are Asbjørn Hernes, recorded above, note 76 and Thv. Lindeman, Den Trønderske familie Lindeman (Trondhjem, 1924). At the end of Hernes' book is a selected bibliography.

79. For one of Ludvig's fugues, in the style of Bach, see Plate IV. Hernes (p. 74) says that when the Bach Gesellschaft began to issue the works of J. S. Bach, in the 'fifties, the two subscribers in Norway were Ludvig Lindeman and Martin Udbye, both pupils of Ole Andreas.

PLATE IV

L. M. Lindeman
53 smaa Preludier

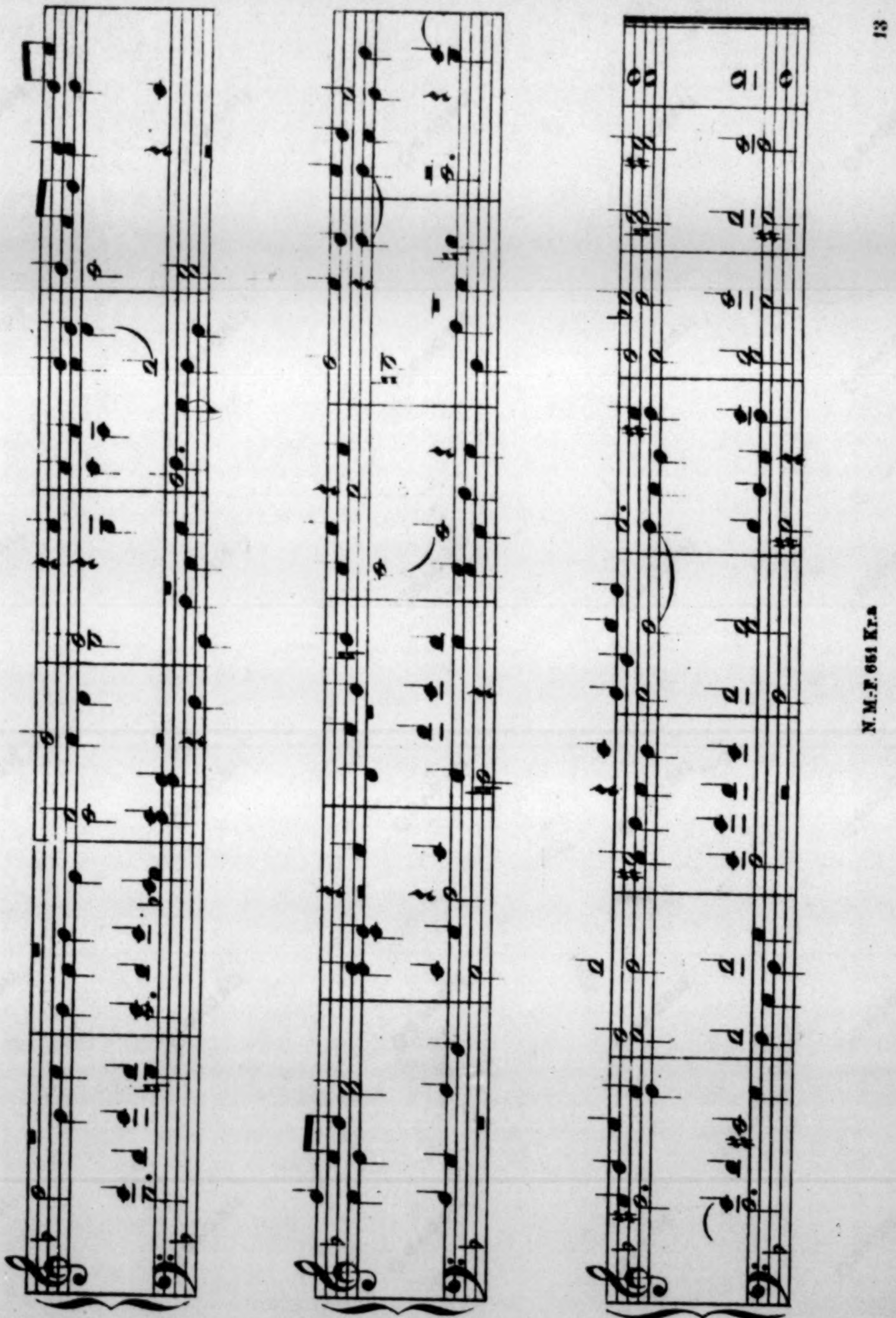
Nº 5.



N.M.F. 651 Kr.s

12

PLATE IV


13
N.M.-P. 651 Kr.a

musically, four of them being organists. The Lindeman home was in Trondheim where Ole Andreas was the organist in Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady).

9. Ludvig M. Lindeman and his Reforms

The most gifted of his sons, and the one slated to follow most closely in his father's steps, was Ludvig Mathias. He received all of his musical training at home, and while still young developed the interests that were destined later to contribute so much to Norwegian musical life--folk music and hymnody.[80] In 1833 he left Trondheim for Oslo to study theology at the university.[81] To support himself in school he played cello in the theater orchestra. During these years he also assisted his brother Jacob Andreas who was the organist in Vor Frelsers church in Oslo.[82] Jacob left the post for a year abroad before he entered the parish ministry, and Ludvig was appointed to the position. He forsook his theological studies and took up a full time musical calling, saying, "I saw that the way to the organ was more to my liking than the path to the pulpit."[83] In addition to his duties at the church he taught singing in various schools, including the Waisenhuset (orphanage). It was the pupils in the latter whose duty it had been to serve as the church choir since a rescript of 1805 had relieved the Latin school pupils of their traditional duty.[84] In 1849, when a section of practical studies was begun in the theological school at the university, Lindeman was appointed to teach chant.[85] He occupied this post, as well as the church post, until his death in 1887. Since Vor Frelsers was the parish church of the city of Oslo, and Oslo was the capital city of Norway, Lindeman occupied the foremost church position in the country for a period of forty-eight of the formative years in the development of Norwegian music.[86] In addition to his

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[80] Ibid., p. 143.

[81] Ibid., p. 138.

[82] O. A. Lindeman (a son of L. M.) in a foreword to L. M. Lindeman, Melodier til Brorsons Svanesang (Kristiania, 1912), p. 5. This book contained the tunes Lindeman had set to the Danish poet, H. A. Brorson's collection of poems, Svanesang. These tunes, which L. M. Lindeman had composed before 1864 were not published until 1912, when his sons issued this volume on the anniversary of his birth.

83. Asbjørn Hernes, "Ludvig M. Lindeman og hans gjerning i den norske kyrkja," Tidskrift for Teologi og Kirke VIII (Oslo, 1937), p. 113.

84. Sandvik, Gregoriansk Sang, p. 104.

85. Hernes, op. cit., p. 117.

86. The Vor Frelsers position carried with it also the

regular musical duties he was active in support of civic musical endeavors.

Lindeman's position at Vor Frelsers established a thirty year friendship and working relationship with Wilhelm Andreas Wexels, one of the pastors of the church and one of the most influential churchmen in nineteenth century Norway. He was the leading exponent in Norway of Grundtvigianism, that particular blend of Christianity, churchmanship and nationalism which characterized the thought and writings of the Danish clergyman-educator, N. F. S. Grundtvig. The enduring personal contact with Wexels undoubtedly had a determinative influence on Lindeman. Asbjørn Hernes, in his generally laudatory commemorative article about Lindeman in Tidskrift for Teologi og Kirke says, "It was Wexels who made Lindeman a church musician..."[87] Although he overstates the case, his point is clear. It was during the period that he sat under the weekly preaching of Wexels and moved in his Grundtvigian circles that Lindeman's mature thoughts as a church musician took shape. Furthermore, he worked closely with Wexels on a hymnal the latter was editing,

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86. (cont.) title, privileges and responsibilities of city cantor. Berg-Hagtvedt, op. cit., p. 372.

[87] Op. cit., p. 110.

Lindeman composing melodies to a number of the new texts--of which some were by Grundtvig.[88] Grundtvig was known for his generally optimistic view of life,[89] and of his follower, Wexels, it was said that he represented "den glade Christendom."[90] Hernes says that it is this "joyous Christianity" that meets one in Lindeman's music.[91] Lindeman's best hymn tunes have a folk-like sense of spontaneity and rhythmic vitality. (See Plate VI). It was Lindeman's intention not to burden these melodies with four part chords on every note. Rather, he wanted to provide a harmonic foundation with occasional chords, used only where necessary. He published his Melodier til Brorsons Svanesang in this form. However, he supplied the usual four voices for his hymnal editions.[92]

[88] E.g. Kirken den er et gammelt hus (Built on the Rock). Ibid., pp. 112-113. See Plate V. This is Lindeman's best-known tune.

[89] The "Grundtvigianer" are even today often referred to as "the happy Danes" in contrast to "the serious (or Kierkegaardian) Danes."

[90] Berg-Hagtvedt, op. cit., p. 316.

[91] Hernes, op. cit., p. 117. Lindeman is referred to specifically as "den grundtvigianer" in Einar Boyesen, Hartvig Nissen (1815-1874) og det norske skolevesens reform I (Oslo, 1947), p. 111. The extent to which Grundtvig and Wexels influenced Lindeman would be a subject worthy of further research.

[92] That Lindeman's Svanesang treatment lightens and animates the melody can readily be seen by comparing the two versions of Naar mit øie in Plate VII.

PLATE V

Lindeman's Koralbog, Minneapolis, 1899

No. 90. Kirken den er et gammelt Hus.

Salme 589, 108, 687, 719.

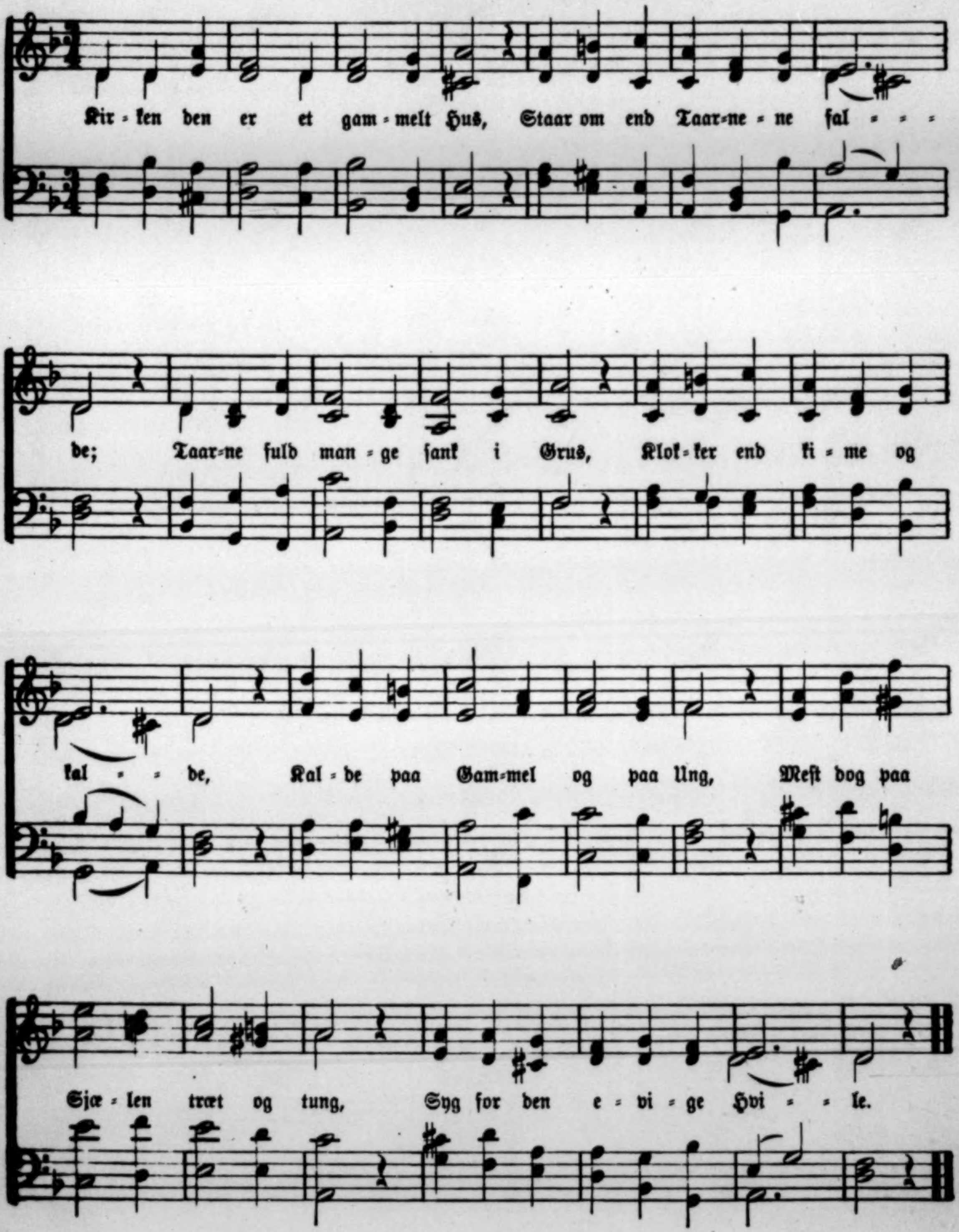
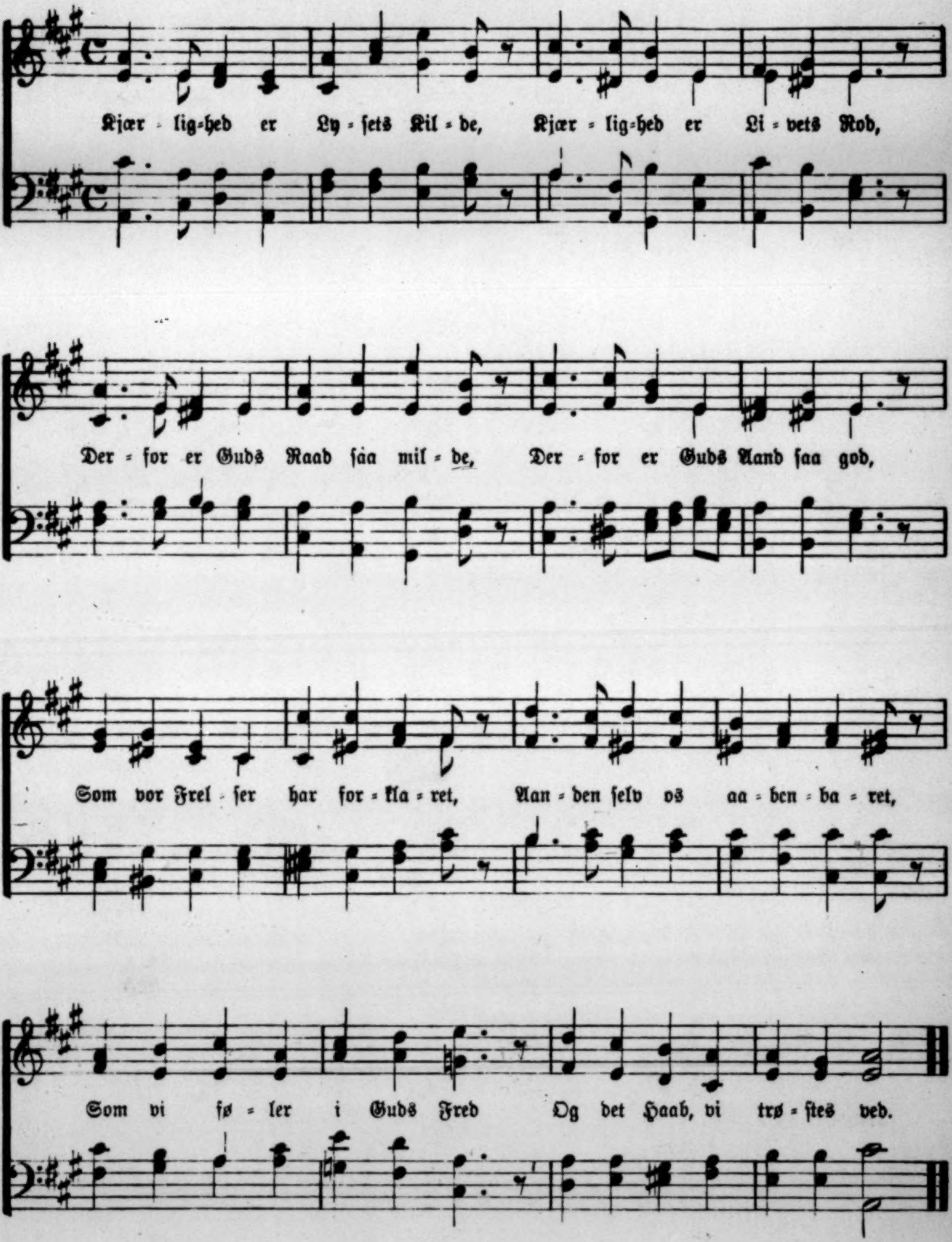

Kir - ken den er et gam - melt Hus, Staar om end Taar-ne - ne fal - - -
de; Taar-ne fuld man - ge ſank i Grus, Klok-ker end ki - me og
kal - - de, Kal - de paa Gam-mel og paa Ung, Meſt dog paa
Sjæ - len træt og tung, Syg for den e - vi - ge Hvi - - le.

PLATE VI

Lindeman's Koralbog, Minneapolis, 1899

No. 85 b. Jeſus er mit Liv i Live.

Salme 227, 544.

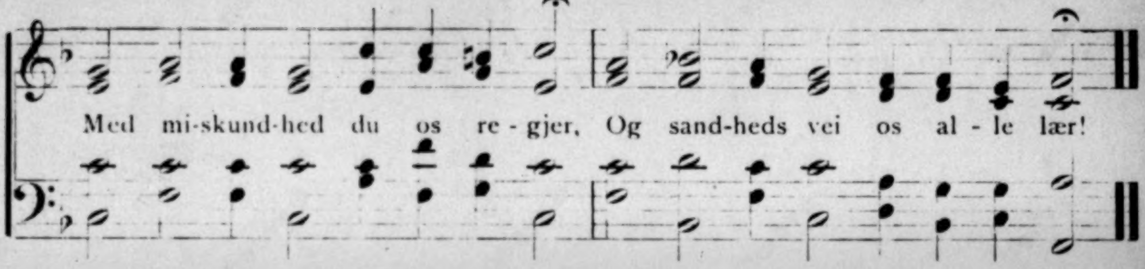

Kjær - lig-hed er Ly - ſets Kil - de, Kjær - lig-hed er Li - vets Rod,
Der - for er Guds Raad ſaa mil - de, Der - for er Guds Aand ſaa god,
Som vor Frel - ſer har for - kla - ret, Aan - den ſelv os aa - ben - ba - ret,
Som vi fø - ler i Guds Fred Og det Haab, vi trø - ſtes ved.

92a
Plate VI

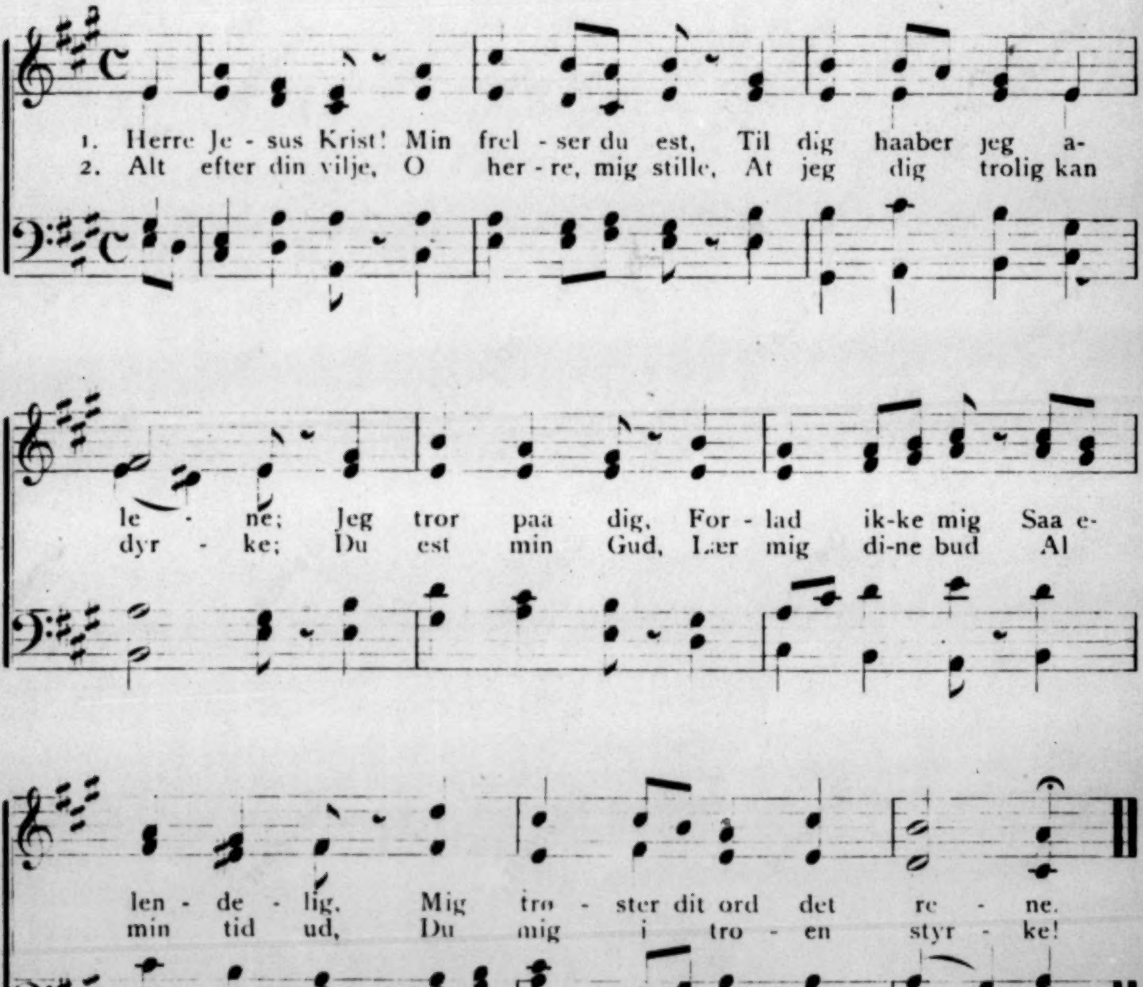
92-a

PLATE VI

Rhytmisk Koralbog, 1904


Med mi-skund-hed du os re - gjer, Og sand-heds vei os al - le lær!

Nr. 41. Herre Jesus Krist! Min frelser du est.


1. Herre Je - sus Krist! Min frel - ser du est, Til dig haaber jeg a-
2. Alt efter din vilje, O her - re, mig stille, At jeg dig trolig kan
le - ne; Jeg tror paa dig, For - lad ik-ke mig Saa e-
dyr - ke; Du est min Gud, Lær mig di-ne bud Al
len - de - lig, Mig tro - ster dit ord det re - ne.
min tid ud, Du mig i tro - en styr - ke!

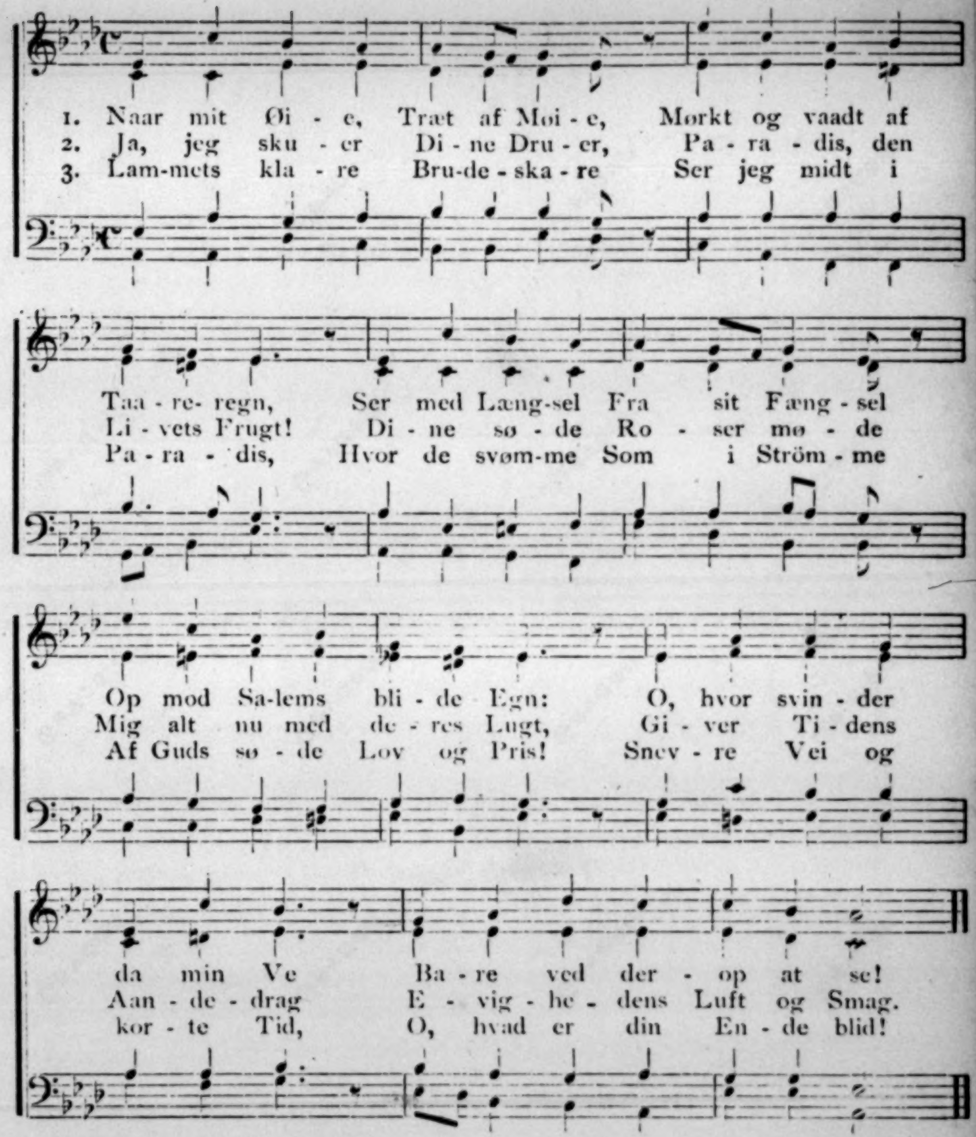
- PLATE VII

Jensen's Klokketoner, 1896

— 44 —

No. 29. Naar mit Öie træt af Möie.

LUDV. M. LINDEMAN.

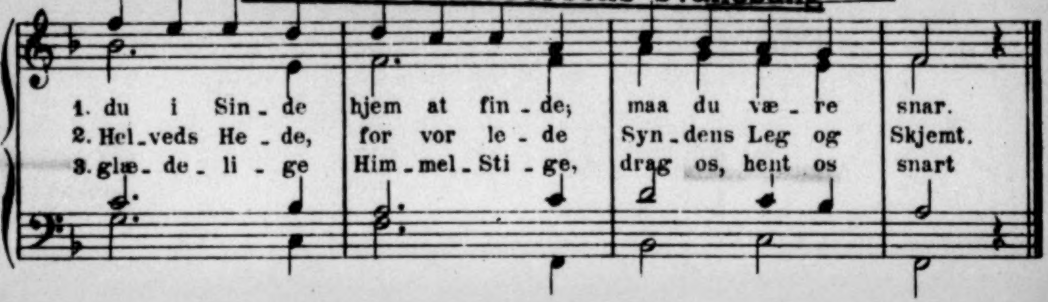

1. Naar mit Øi - e, Træt af Møi - e, Mørkt og vaadt af
2. Ja, jeg sku - er Di - ne Dru - er, Pa - ra - dis, den
3. Lam-mets kla - re Bru-de - ska - re Ser jeg midt i
Taa - re- regn, Ser med Læng-sel Fra sit Fæng - sel
Li - vets Frugt! Di - ne sø - de Ro - ser mø - de
Pa - ra - dis, Hvor de svøm-me Som i Ström - me
Op mod Sa-lems bli - de Egn: O, hvor svin - der
Mig alt nu med de - res Lugt, Gi - ver Ti - dens
Af Guds sø - de Lov og Pris! Snev - re Vei og
da min Ve Ba - re ved der - op at se!
Aan - de - drag E - vig - he - dens Luft og Smag.
kor - te Tid, O, hvad er din En - de blid!

97a
Plate VII

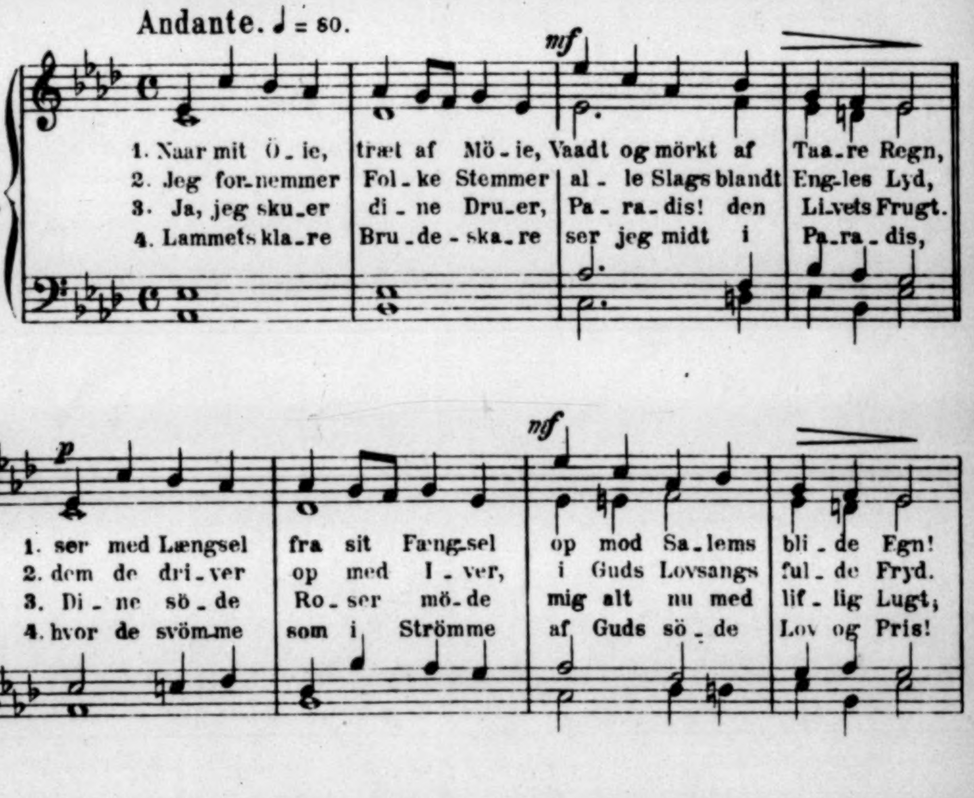
93-a

PLATE VII

Lindeman's Melodier til Brorsons Svanesang


1. du i Sin - de hjem at fin - de; maa du væ - re snar.
2. Hel - veds He - de, for vor le - de Syn - dens Leg og Skjemt.
3. glæ - de - li - ge Him - mel - Sti - ge, drag os, hent os snart

62.


Andante. ♩ = 80.
mf
1. Naar mit Ö - ie, træt af Mö - ie, Vaadt og mörkt af Taa - re Regn,
2. Jeg for - nemmer Fol - ke Stemmer al - le Slags blandt Eng - les Lyd,
3. Ja, jeg sku - er di - ne Dru - er, Pa - ra - dis! den Li - vets Frugt.
4. Lammets kla - re Bru - de - ska - re ser jeg midt i Pa - ra - dis,
p
mf
1. sør med Længsel fra sit Fængsel op mod Sa - lems bli - de Egn!
2. dem de dri - ver op med I - ver, i Guds Lovsangs ful - de Fryd.
3. Di - ne sö - de Ro - ser mö - de mig alt nu med lif - lig Lugt;
4. hvor de svömme som i Strömme af Guds sö - de Lov og Pris!
p
mf
1. O, hvor svin - der da min Ve, ba - re ved der - op at se!
2. O, hvor si - ger da min Sjel Ver - den gla - de - lig: Far - vel!
3. Gi - ver Ti - dens Aan - de - drag E - vig - he - dens Luft og Smag.
4. Snev - re Vei og kor - te Tid, o, hvad er din En - de blid!

In 1840 Wexels had put out a collection of hymns for which Lindeman had supplied melodies. This collection was especially significant because Lindeman used the quarter note rather than the half note as the basic metrical value.[93] This was only two years after his father's chorale book had been published in half notes. It indicates an independence of judgment on the part of the son which was to characterize his later handling of the traditional chorale, as well as his treatment of his critics. The 1840 publication indicated the direction which his work with the hymn, both theoretical and practical, was going to take. He was keenly aware of the deadening effect which the half note style of the authorized chorale book had on congregational singing. He also recognized the conflict which the book raised in country congregations where the people were used to singing their own melodies and rhythms. He says himself, in 1848, "The efforts hitherto attempted to improve the hymn singing by introducing or imposing new melodies on the congregation in place of those which they, so to speak, imbibed at their mother's breast could be reckoned to have failed of their purpose..."[94]

93. Hernes, op. cit., p. 113.

94. Hernes, loc. cit.

It was in this year that Lindeman made his first trip into the country districts to collect folk tunes and, especially, to become acquainted with their way of singing hymns in the hope that this would give him ideas on how he could work to improve the singing in the city.[95]

His personal reform efforts with the Vor Frelsers congregation bore fruit and his fame spread around the country.[96] Excerpts from an article in Morgenbladet in 1874 by a Swedish musician, named Carl Wilhelm Bauck, describing the music in a Sunday service in Vor Frelsers, gives an enlightening summary of Lindeman's methods:

> "Regarding the chorale melodies themselves, which are for the most part, old...they are, to begin with, iso-rhythmic (i.e. even note values, with doubled values at fermata). But, in order to avoid monotony in the melody Lindeman gives it rhythmic breaks [i.e. dotted note rhythms]... Also, he completely ignores the fermata; the melodies continue without interruption. There is only a natural pause at punctuation marks. Finally, the tempo never drags--it is approximately Andante quasi allegretto...Lindeman himself thinks this tempo is rather slow, but says he cannot play faster because the singing in a large church always moves slowly. In smaller churches the situation would be different.

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[95] Hernes, loc. cit. and Sandvik, Kingo-tona, p. VIII.

[96] A. Chr. Bang, "Bemaerkninger angaaende de i vor Kirke brugte Koralbøger," supplement to M. B. Landstad, Kirke-salmebog (Kristiania, 1892), p. 54.

> One can hardly imagine the effect of the simple expedients.
>
> But in addition to the old, authorized chorales, Lindeman has introduced new hymns, most of them of his own composition. These usually have a free, simple, rhythmic movement and are almost all unusually beautiful and expressive. Lindeman customarily uses one of his own tunes in each service, and it is sung by the congregation with as much zest as the old hymns...
>
> The performance was quite simply carried out. The choir consisted of the boys from Waisenhuset, who were placed on a little platform in the roomy gallery... The boys sang the hymns in unison with ringing voices, usually with faultless intonation. The congregation seemed to consist largely of women, and they also sang very clearly and well. I heard no men's voices. Either they merely followed silently along in the hymnal or they sang too softly to be heard. The organ accompanied with moderately full registers, the closing stanzas usually louder. There were no interludes between stanzas, but the pedal note was held slightly after the other voices.[97]
>
> The intention is to give hymn singing some of the characteristics of popular singing, while maintaining a fitting dignity, and this intention has been fully realized. Throughout there is a spirit of joyous devotion which characterizes this singing."[98]

From the foreword to Lindeman's Koralbog we can gain

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97. This practice was observable also in the hymn accompaniments of the late Dr. F. Melius Christiansen, who served for many years as organist for the St. John's Lutheran congregation in Northfield, Minnesota. A printed example of this may be seen in his Sang-Gudstjeneste No. 3 (Minneapolis, 1918), p. 13. See Plate VIII.

98. Quoted in Berg-Hagtvedt, op. cit., pp. 374-375. Translated by the author. John Dahle, writing in Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende (June, 1890), p. 3, says that the King, who had been impressed by Lindeman as a church musician, sent Bauck to Christiania at his own expense to observe Lindeman.

97 Plate VIII

PLATE VIII

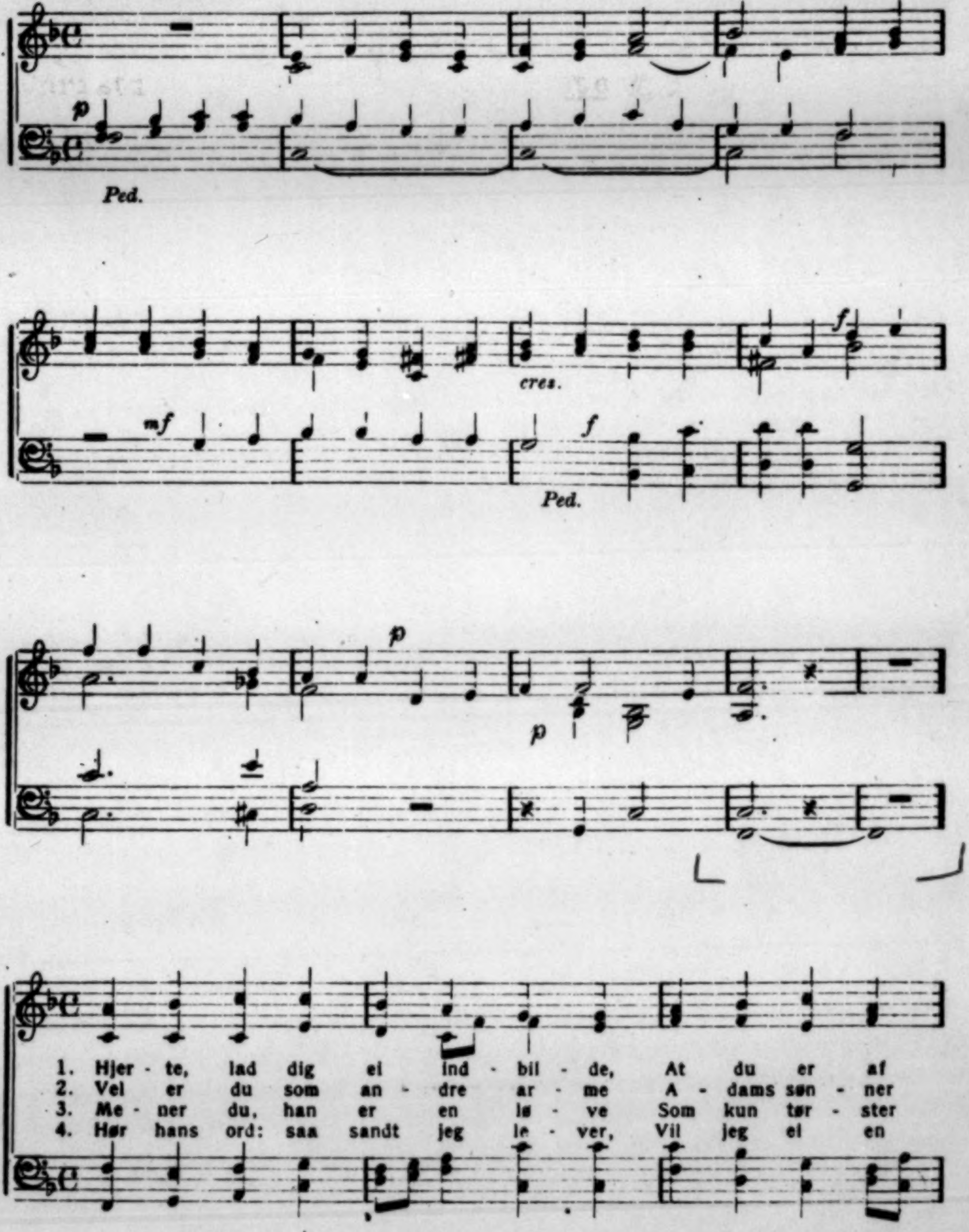
Christiansen's Sang-Gudstjeneste # 3

4. Hjerte, lad dig ei indbilde.

13

PAUL GERHARDT.
Orgel Prœludium.

JOH. SCHOP, 1642.
Arr. *F. M. C.*


p
Ped.
mf
cres.
f
Ped.
f
p
p
1. Hjer - te, lad dig ei ind - bil - de, At du er af
2. Vel er du som an - dre ar - me A - dams søn - ner
3. Me - ner du, han er en lø - ve Som kun tør - ster
4. Hør hans ord: saa sandt jeg le - ver, Vil jeg ei en

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more exact information as to his ideas regarding the performance of the hymns. They should be played in strict time throughout and should be played at about ♩ = 60 M.M., "or a little slower, depending on circumstances." The dotted quarter notes are to be played in strict time. He adds that those who consider these dotted rhythms as unchurchly may disregard them and play even quarter notes. Instead of the fermata formerly used on final notes of cadences, he provides an eighth note rest where a breath is necessary. He suggests, however, that the organist hold the melody note for its full quarter value at these places instead of cutting off all four voices for the allotted eighth rest. This is to provide continuity in the melody and help to produce the desired legato performance of the hymns.[99] There follow some instructions for the performance of repeated notes and for playing the four voices on manuals alone. With regard to the harmony he says that he has worked it out carefully "to preserve a desirable calm and dignity together with clarity and variety so that the tunes, thus elucidated and animated would appear as an integrated whole." But he immediately adds, "Since the melodies can be harmonized in many different ways, it follows that an organist who is possessed of the necessary knowledge and skill may, depending upon circumstances, change harmonies within a hymn--even on each stanza--for the sake of greater variety. However, where the organist is not possessed of such skill, the given harmony should be followed exactly."

---

[99] Erik Hoff, who published a chorale book in 1878, followed this practice in the editing of his tunes. *Melodibog til samtlige authoriserede salmebøger--Hauges, Landstads, evangelisk-Kristelige, Guldbergs og Kingos--samt til salmebog for den norsk-evangeliske kirke i Amerika* (Kristiania).

Of most interest to us right now is Lindeman's suggested tempo standard. By the standards of hymn singing in mid-twentieth century America, ♩ = 60 would be considered intolerably slow. ♩ = 100 would be closer to a normal speed today, although speeds might vary from about ♩ = 90 to ♩ = 138, more or less, depending on the nature of the hymn. Lindeman's tempo marking throws light on the state of congregational singing in Norway in the period we are discussing.[100] His tempo represents a

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100. It also sheds light on general tempo indications of the time. If Bauck was right in his estimate of Lindeman's tempo, it would seem to indicate that "andante quasi allegretto" was construed more slowly then than now.

faster one than that which had prevailed before--and, for that matter, still prevailed in most churches other than Vor Frelsers. He says that, in general, the pulse of the hymn ought to be the normal one of about a second's duration (i.e. app. ♩ = 60), but that experience had shown that custom favored a basic pulse of about one and one-half second's duration, or ♩ = 45.[101] If, in the light of these facts, one is mindful of the number of hymns sung in an average service--each with several stanzas--one is prompted to sympathize with the people who complained that services were too long and that there were too many hymns. It helps to explain, too, why people took to coming late for the service.

[101] Foreword to Lindeman's *Melodier til Landstads Salmebog* (Kristiania, 1871). In the foreword to a still earlier book Lindeman had indicated an even slower prevailing mean tempo: ♩ = 25-30. At that writing he proposed ♩ = 45 as a reasonable speed and one which would give full value to text and music. What caused him to revise his mean tempo upward 10 years later is a matter for conjecture. *47 Koraler for to lige Stemmer, Sopran og Alt, samt 10 Koraler for tre eller fire lige Stemmer* (Christiania, 1861).

We have the testimony of Joh. D. Behrens also regarding the retarded performance of the contemporary congregation. He said that the people normally sang so slowly that they constantly (*til hvert Øjeblik*) had to stop for breath, even in the middle of a word. He suggests that two or at most three breaths per phrase should be sufficient. *Om den lutherske Salmesang* (Kristiania, 1858), p. 27.

Other aspects of Lindeman's editing of the hymn tunes become clearer also in the light of his mean tempo. For example, his use of an eighth note rest in which to draw a breath is understandable, because at that speed an eighth rest is sufficient for the purpose without disturbing the pulse of the hymn. Furthermore, given Lindeman's premise that a steady, even quarter note rhythm is basic to good hymn singing, even his dotted rhythms (♩. ♪), inserted to give impulse and punctuation to the musical line, are not especially disturbing, whereas, taken at a faster tempo these dotted rhythms are jerky and out of character.[102] Lindeman's harmonizations, played at this tempo, have a dynamic quality, giving a sense of progression and voice leading, the better ones having dignity as well. But played faster they merely sound fussy and unnecessarily complex.

It was said at Lindeman's funeral that he had taught the Norwegian church to sing.[103] His efforts at reform

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102. It should be borne in mind that Lindeman was trying to make improvements in what was a thoroughly stagnated situation. He approached the problems that faced him from the point of view of a practical musician who by this time (1870) had had thirty-five years of experience in church music. His remedies for the problems he faced must be interpreted in the light of his contemporary situation.

103. Bang, op. cit., p. 46.

in Vor Frelsers had helped to win him this accolade because they set a standard of performance which others strove to emulate. But more important in the long run was his work on the book of tunes for Landstad's hymnal. It was partly on the strength of his dominant position at Vor Frelsers, with its accompanying title and responsibilities as cantor, but also because of his previous publishing activity with Landstad and Wexels, that Lindeman was given the commission to prepare the book of tunes.

10. Lindeman's Koralbog and the Rhythmic Chorale

He published his tunes, pending approval, in two volumes. The first came out in 1871, the year after he had received the commission, containing tunes not found in his father's book. The second, containing tunes taken from his father's book and rearranged, came out in 1872. The books were sent out to the parishes to give them a trial run before the final edition would be authorized. There were two immediate results, and they were diametrically opposed to each other. The pastors and congregations were enthusiastic about Lindeman's changes and his own folk-like tunes.[104] But in Oslo there was a small

[104] A dissenting voice came from across the ocean in

but vocal group of musicians who were bitterly disappointed in Lindeman's handling of the old chorales. This group included Joh. D. Behrens, Otto Winter-Hjelm and G. Bergh. The publication of these volumes sparked the resumption of a feud that had been carried on in the columns of the newspapers between Behrens, Bergh and Lindeman regarding the form the chorale should take.[105]

In 1858 Behrens had published a small monograph, entitled Om den lutherske Salmesang (Kristiania), in which he traced the decay of the Lutheran chorale from its high point in the first hundred years following the Reformation to its nadir in the early part of the nineteenth century. He presented the case for a return to the original rhythmic form of the chorale in order to improve the singing in church. His discussion and his musical

104. (cont.) America, where the Hymn Tune Commission of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod, meeting in 1875, took issue with Lindeman, saying that his harmonizations "often seem rather artificial and not very beautiful." Sandvik, Koralhistorie, p. 67. Some of his own tunes he wrote as alternates, or "B" melodies, to older chorales. In the case of some chorales this proved to be unfortunate because Lindeman's lighter tunes tended to displace the original one in normal use, e.g. Min sjel, min sjel, lov Herren, Lindeman's Koralbog, No. 91, which gradually displaced the older German chorale, Nun lob mein Seel den Herren.

105. In his Mindeblad over Joh. D. Behrens, pp. 25-26, J. B. Halvorsen lists the journalistic contributions of these men to the argument, as well as those of others who entered the fray.

examples show that he had a good understanding of the subject and thorough knowledge of his sources. His last chapter included thirty melodies with comments on their sources. Lindeman took to the newspapers to attack Behrens' point of view. The following year, in his comments accompanying his and Landstad's Martin Luthers Aandelige Sange, Lindeman made use of the opportunity to state his viewpoint in detail and support it with his own review of the original sources.[106] He held that the original, irregular rhythms of the chorales were changed to even rhythms when the chorales passed from the domain of the choir to that of the congregation, and that it was useless to try to restore them.[107]

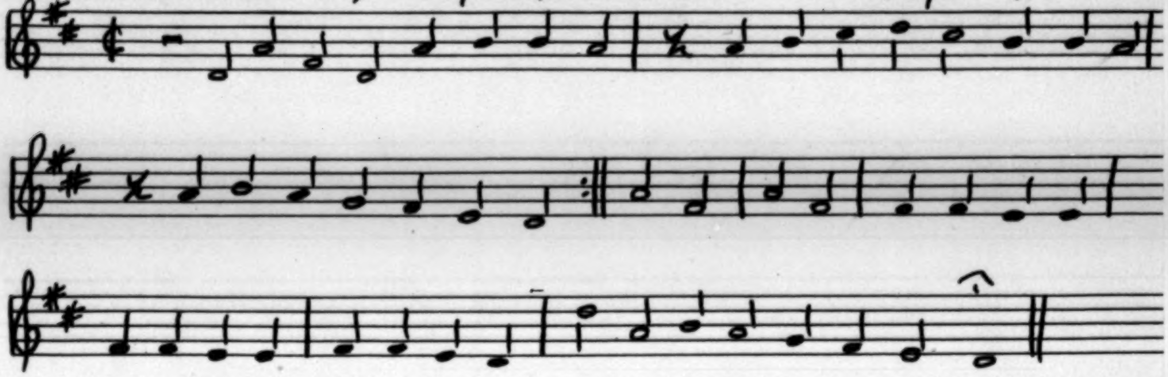
[106] In a footnote on page VIII he makes a contemptuous, passing reference (without mentioning Behrens by name) to the 1859 Arendal sangerfest at which Behrens had directed the male chorus in singing three of the traditional chorales in their old rhythmic form. Lindeman's remarks concerning the performance leave no doubt as to where his sympathies lay in the question of restoring the former rhythm of the chorale. An interesting sidelight on this particular incident is furnished in the letters of Halfdan Kjerulf, who had attended the sangerfest. To his friend, Julius Nicolaysen, he wrote afterward that of all the music he heard there he was most impressed by the old chorales which Behrens had directed that day in church. W. Moe, Halfdan Kjerulf, p. 217-218.

[107] Lindeman was wrong here. The opposite was the case. Many of the original folk versions of the chorales were rhythmically irregular. They became isorhythmic as composers adapted them to artistic forms.

One is led to suspect that the argument over the rhythmic chorale generated a good deal more heat than light. In the first place, the term itself is misleading. Implicit in it is the idea that the isorhythmic chorale is devoid of rhythm, which, of course, it is not. "Iso" simply means equal. Isorhythms are equal rhythms. With O. A. Lindeman they were equal half notes, with Ludvig Lindeman equal quarter notes. This was what the Norwegians called _koralform_. Originally, many of the chorales, but not all, had irregular patterns of long and short notes. It was this alternation of rhythmic patterns which interested the proponents of the rhythmic chorale. They believed that the movement in the old rhythmic forms would restore life to the singing of the congregations. Lindeman thought these irregular rhythms would only confuse the congregations. He thought the pulse of the hymn ought to be even and calm (_jaevn og rolig_).

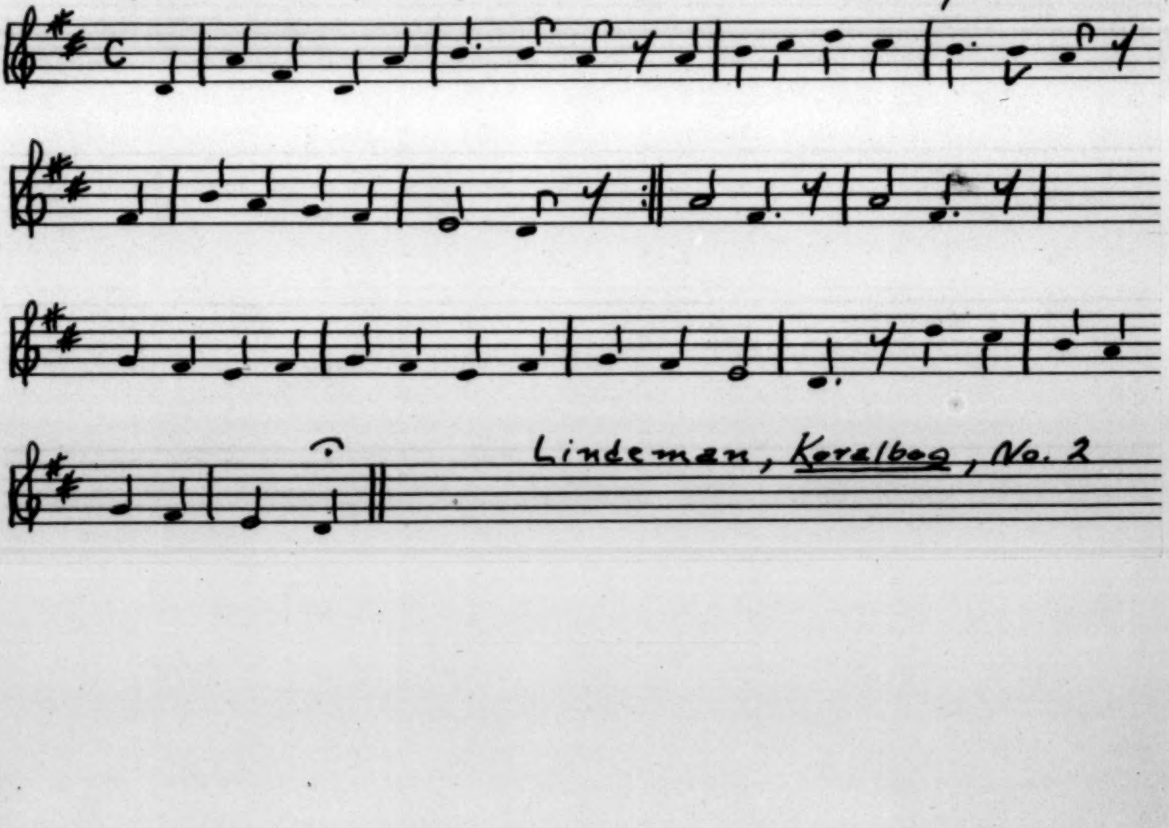
The general effect of the isorhythmic chorale is that of a dignified, solemn procession, whereas that of the rhythmic chorale is more akin to a stately, but animated, dance. A comparison of the two versions of _Wie schön leuchtet_, below, will convey a feeling for the difference between the two forms better than words can. The rhythmic version has mixed duple and triple rhythms.

(Wie schön) Af Høiheden Rhythmic



Behrens, *Om den lutherske* ... p. 18 in second part

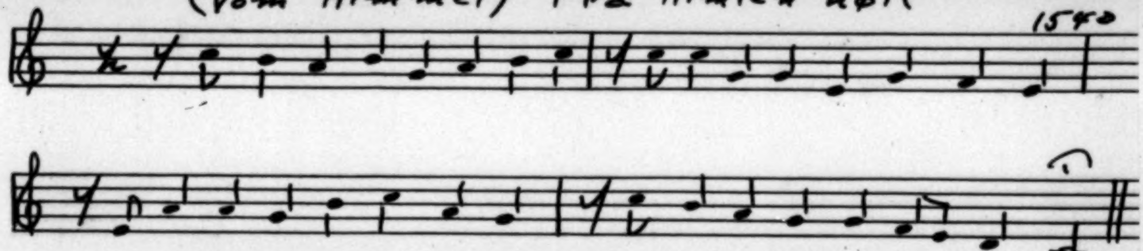
(Wie schön) Af Høiheden Isorhythmic



Lindeman, *Koralbog*, No. 2

Some of the chorales were isorhythmic from the beginning. Vom Himmel hoch is an example. Characteristic for many of them is the short upbeat note, which is the only non-isorhythmic feature present.

(Vom Himmel) Fra Himlen høit



Behrens, Melodier til Luthers..., p.4

Lindeman felt that the rhythmic form of the chorale was outmoded. For its rhythms he substituted his own dotted notes. As events would have it, although Behrens may have had history on his side, Lindeman had the people on his. They knew nothing about the theories of the rhythmic chorale. All they knew was that they liked Lindeman's tunes, and they were satisfied that his arrangements of the chorales were better than what they had had before. The newspaper debate continued, off and on, for twenty years, before the final authorization of

Lindeman's chorale book in 1877 rendered further dispute purely academic and fruitless.[108]

The criticism which was levelled against Lindeman's first two volumes caused the Church Department to set up a commission to make a close study of each hymn and come with suggestions for changes where necessary. The commission consisted of six men who were quite evenly divided in their sentiments for or against Lindeman's work. They came up with many suggested changes. These suggestions, plus a recommendation to include a supplement of chorales in rhythmic form, were submitted to Lindeman. After considering the suggested changes, he returned the work with the comment that he had not felt

[108] In Norway this 20 year debate is referred to as *salmesangstriden* (the hymn controversy). If one considers the discussion of rhythmic vs. isorhythmic chorale in the light of Lindeman's tempo standard, and his desire to "speed things up a bit," one is inclined to side with him from a purely practical point of view. A comparison of the opening phrase of *Af Højheden oprunden er*, above, in Behrens' version and Lindeman's version reveals that, at ♩ = 60, there is more movement and life in Lindeman's version. The successive half notes of the Behrens version become intolerably drawn out at this speed--which was fast for that day. This goes far to explain why Behrens thought that a singer might require 2 or 3 breaths to sing a chorale phrase. See above, p. 100, note 101.

it necessary to make more than a few minor changes.[109] As for the supplement, he included "some of the old hymns in the older, so-called rhythmic form and with the older harmonization," and eleven choral pieces from Joh. Walther and Claude Goudimel. Since he had found the thirty chorales to have "serious shortcomings" and even "mistakes," both rhythmically and harmonically, and since he did not share "the admiration of some people for these products of music's childhood (Kunstens Barndom)," he had very carefully made the "most necessary changes."[110] Lindeman clearly felt that he had the confidence and backing of the Church Department and could safely ignore most of the commission's lengthy recommendations. Prior to their final decision, the Department had prudently taken a step which must then have been considered the ultimate in terms of musical sanction. In 1875 they had sent the two Lindeman volumes to Leipzig to get the judgment of the "recognized authorities" of cultured European music--who had returned them with high praise.[111]

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109. In Koralhistorie, pp. 54-89, Sandvik lists the commission members and describes in detail their recommendations and Lindeman's subsequent action--or lack thereof--on the recommendations.

110. Foreword to Lindeman's Koralbog (1877). A facsimile of the foreword, with a translation, may be found in Appendix A, p. 311.

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111. The authorities in Leipzig who signed the letter of

So, at the end of 1877, when the time arrived for a final decision, the Department authorities felt inclined to treat the criticisms of the books as merely subjective differences of opinions. Furthermore, making all the changes the commission had suggested would only confuse matters since the books had already been in use for six years and had been well received by the congregations. With the wish that the "friends of the rhythmic chorale" would be happy with the supplement, the authorities closed the case and gave their authorization to the revised books, which were then bound in one volume, entitled Koràlbog, indeholdende de i Landstad's Salmebog forekommende Melodier. (Chorale Book, containing Melodies for the Hymns in Landstad's Hymnal).[112]

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111. (cont.) recommendation were R. Papperitz, E. J. Richter, Hermann Kretschmar, and Carl Piutti. Sandvik, Koralhistorie, p. 68. Another probable reason for Lindeman's confidence in his handling of the chorale book affair was the fact that he knew he enjoyed the support of the King. John Dahle makes reference to this in the article quoted above, p. 96, note 98.

[112] Sandvik says that Lindeman did less than justice to the rhythmic chorale in the supplement. He had been instructed to pick easily singable versions of the chorales to see if the people would take to them. Instead, Sandvik maintains, he deliberately chose difficult versions which, in effect, "dealt a death blow to the rhythmic chorale in our country, at least for a long time." Koralhistorie, pp. 91-92. As we shall see, the dispute was transplanted with the emigrants to the shores of America.

Twenty-two years later, in 1899, the same chorale book was published for the Norwegian Lutheran churches in America. It was identical except for the substitution for Lindeman's supplement of another one designed to answer to the needs of the churches in the States.[113] O. M. Sandvik says, in summing up his discussion of the book, that in spite of its shortcomings it bears the stamp of the artist in its harmony, and its fresh, lilting melodies won it friends throughout the country. One old singer in the district of Sunmøre said, "When Lindeman's book came I threw away all the old ones."[114] Although it has been revised since, this book is still the core of the present chorale book of the Church of Norway.

11. The Book of Chant, 1870

In 1870, just before his work on the chorale book began, Lindeman had published a small book, called Norsk Messebog.[115] It contained two sets of lection tones

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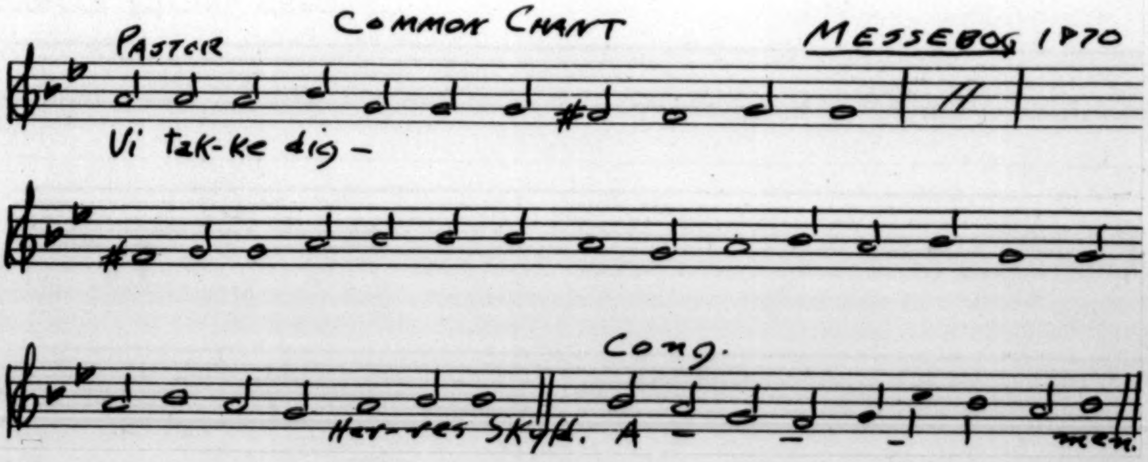
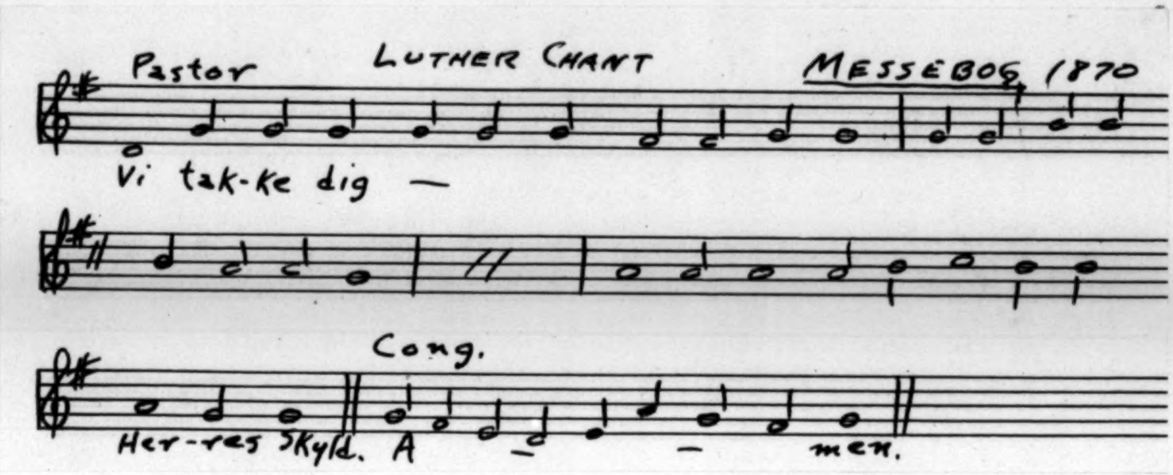
113. It will be discussed in Chapter Four.

114. Koralhistorie, p. 96.

115. Its full title is Norsk Messebog, indeholdende Formler og Melodier, saavel til den almindelige som til den lutherske Messe, samt de tilhørende Menighedssvar (Christiania, 1870) (Norwegian Book of Chant, containing the Forms and Melodies for the Common and the Luther Chants, together with the corresponding Congregational Responses).

for chanting the collects and lections of the service. The first set is called simply the common (almindelig) chant. It has a curious double tonality, veering between G minor and B flat major, and employing the subsemitonal leading tone of each. The recitation note is G, approached from below by F sharp, but the cadence note is always B flat, approached by half step from below. This B flat tonality is reinforced by the following Amen which uses both a B flat and an F natural. According to the rubrics, this same tone would be used for the Collects, Epistle, Gospel, Our Father, Words of Institution and Benediction, giving the service a feeling of musical uniformity, bordering on monotony. The origin of this tone is obscure. Its structure does not seem to support Lindeman's view that it is a variant of the lection tones which





Martin Luther used.[116]

Lindeman's second set of lection tones consists of the tones which Martin Luther incorporated into his German Mass (Deutsche Messe, 1526). Lindeman preferred these tones to the first ones because they had more variety. He appropriated Luther's Epistle tone (octavo tono) for both Epistle and Collect.[117] He did not use Luther's collect tone, possibly because the source he

[116] Foreword to Messebog, p. 4. Sandvik, in Gregoriansk Sang, p. 95, says it lies closer to Hans Thomissøn's Epistle tone.

[117] In 1889 the new liturgy came into general use. In it the lections were no longer chanted, but the Collects were. In the United States they have continued to be chanted among the Norwegian-Americans until the advent in 1958 of The Service Book and Hymnal. Thus, for 75 years the Norwegians have been chanting their Collects to Luther's Epistle tone, and reading the Epistle.

quotes for some of his material--Joh. Fr. Naue, Altargesänge (Halle, 1845)--does not give it.[118] But he uses Luther's Gospel tone (quinto tono), as Luther did, for both the Gospel and Words of Institution. For Our Father Luther had no tone since he used a paraphrase of the prayer in the German Mass. Lindeman simply followed Naue's selection at this point, using the tone which Naue had chosen to precede Luther's tone for the Words of Institution.[119] All that Naue says regarding the origin of this tone is that it is from an old manuscript. Since the Lord's Prayer traditionally ended without a doxology (For thine is the kingdom, etc.), Lindeman composed the melody for the doxology, modelling it on an earlier phrase of the chant. Then he added an Amen from Georg Rhau (1543) which ended on a dominant note, leading smoothly into the Words of Institution, which follow immediately.

Both of these sets of tones have been in use in the Lutheran church among the Norwegians in America up to the present day, although the Luther tones have predominated.

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[118] It is at least doubtful if Lindeman would have used Luther's Collect tone anyway. The entire Collect is chanted on a single tone. This would probably have struck Lindeman as too monotonous.

[119] Naue, p. 105. The tones for the Lord's Prayer and the Words of Institution are included in section in Chapter Three, p. 163,169.

In 1885 Lindeman's book was reissued and in 1891 Christian Cappelen published an enlarged version of the same book in which he set notes to all of the collects for the church year. Lindeman had set only a few, leaving the bulk of the collects to be chanted according to a set of mnemonic symbols.

12. Liturgical Summary, 1889

Finally, in order to round out the liturgical developments of the late nineteenth century, the liturgy of 1889 must be touched upon, because the orders of service promulgated in that year were translated, almost word for word, into English and used among most of the Norwegian-American churches during the first half of the twentieth century. The steady degeneration of the liturgy became a matter of increasing concern in the nineteenth century, and it led, finally, to the work of W. K. Hesselberg and Gustav Jensen in the 'eighties. Their work took on more the character of a restoration than a revision. They made a study of the history of the liturgy, finally proposing an order which was modelled on the first, or ordinary, Bavarian order of 1879.[120] Bowing to the claims of prevailing practice they also issued a "shorter form".[121] The proposal was studied and approved by a royal commission. Authorized for use in 1887 by a royal resolution, the orders were printed in the *Alterbog for den norske Kirke* in 1889.[122]

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[120] The proposal was called *Udkast til en forandret Høimesse-Liturgi* (Kristiania, 1883). (The Bavarian order, which in turn grew out of the 19th century research and writings of Löhe, Kliefoth and others, may be found in Joachim Beckmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes* (Gütersloh, 1956), pp. 206-213. The book also contains a comparative study of other 19th century, as well as earlier, forms.) A word is in order here on the overall contents of this *alterbog*. This was the first of the altar books which was designed as a complete pastor's manual of the service. It contains the complete order plus the music for the service, lacking only the music for the chanted collects. This was incorporated, two years later, into Chr. Cappelen's *Messebog for den norske Kirke* (Kristiania, 1891). Earlier altar books, such as *Forordnet Alterbog udi Danmark og Norge* (1688) and Palladius's *Alterbog* (1556) were printed as companion volumes to the accepted ritual book, and did not include the complete order of service.

[121] This "shorter form" was discontinued when a revision of the Norwegian altar book was issued in 1920.

[122] They are given in detail in Appendix B, p. 356.

CHAPTER III

LITURGICAL ELEMENTS IN THE IMMIGRANT CHURCH

Introduction

When the Norwegians migrated to America they brought their church customs with them. Chief among these was the singing of hymns. Every devout family had its hymnal along. Wherever they happened to be on a Sunday--on board a sailing ship crossing the Atlantic or on dry land in the States--they would pause long enough to hold a service of worship. Typical is the account of Knud S. Knudsen, an immigrant who made his way to Texas in 1846.

> "We here desire to add that the Norwegians who came to Texas in 1846 brought along with them from Norway hymn books and house postils. On Sundays they gathered to read the texts and to sing hymns. Torbjør Olson, widow of Jørgen Olson Hastvedt, was a sincere Christian and a good leader in those days of trials. In 1850 Asmund Johnson came. He was undoubtedly the most zealous Christian that came to Texas. He brought along a copy of Luther's house postil, books of Francke, Pontoppidan and others of like character. When they were together on Sundays Asmund would read the text. He also had the Norwegian Church Ritual. 'Old Asmund,' as he was called, was the one that baptized the children in Brownsboro. At Four Mile Prairie baptism was administered by three schoolteachers, namely, Stian Aanonson, Aslak Nilson, and Ole Mjaaland. In this way the Lutheran

faith was preserved among the Norwegians in Texas."[1]

Gustav Sandro, in The Immigrants' Trek, tells how the wagon train, crossing what is now southern Minnesota, would stop long enough on a Sunday morning to read the texts for the day from the hymnal, a postil enlarging upon it from another book, and sing some hymns.[2] In this way those Norwegians who had had more than merely a nodding acquaintance with the church in the Old Country maintained an informal relationship with it on the frontier until they could secure a permanent pastor.

1. Early Differences regarding Hymnals

The first pastor did not begin work among the Norwegian Lutherans in this country until 1843, almost twenty years after the "sloopers" arrived. That man was Claus Lauritz Clausen, a Dane who, out of missionary zeal, had come over to teach the children of the settlers. When the settlers in Muskego, Wisconsin organized and extended him a formal call to be their pastor he accepted and had himself examined and ordained by a local German Lutheran pastor.[3]

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[1] Dorothy Earle Albertson, ed., Midnight Sun (Norway) to Texas (Tyler, Texas, 1942), p. 18. This book is in typescript and is in the form of a family history of the Albertson family.

[2] (Sioux Falls, 1929), p. 8.

In October, 1843, the Muskego congregation was established as a segment of the Lutheran Church of Norway, taking as its formal rite the Ritual of 1685, as modified by succeeding rescripts, especially that of 1802.[4] The Sunday worship, therefore, was identical with that used 51-54 in Norway (discussed above, pp. 51 - 54 and outlined in 348-356 Appendix B, pp. 348-356). The liturgy and the hymns were sung in the same way. The same confusion of hymnals existed because the immigrants brought along with them whichever hymnal they had used in Norway--Kingo, Guldberg, Evangelical-Christian. The most common one among

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3. E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans (Minneapolis, 1960), I, pp. 89-90. Technically, Clausen was not the first ordained pastor among the Norwegians. His ordination was preceded by two weeks by that of Elling Eielsen, a lay evangelist. However, Eielsen, being of a strong anti-organization bent refused to be bound by the Ritual except for the parts dealing with baptism and communion. The full story of the founding and development of the Lutheran Church among the Norwegians in this country is told in the 2 volumes by E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene Fevold. The period up to 1872 is also treated in detail in J. Magnus Rohne, Norwegian-American Lutheranism Up to 1872 (New York, 1926). The reader is further referred to the publications and archives of the Norwegian-American Historical Association in Northfield, Minnesota.

4. A Chronicle of Old Muskego. The Diary of Søren Bache, 1839-1847, trans. and ed. by Clarence A. Clausen and Andreas Elviken (Northfield, Minnesota, 1951), p. 134.

the early immigrants apparently was Guldberg's. In the 'fifties, as various synodical bodies began to take shape, the leaders of the newly formed Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of America[5] decided to reissue Guldberg for the use of their synod. This was in 1854.[6] By this time there were three rival groups of Norwegian Lutherans in existence: the evangelistic adherents of Eielsen, the more theologically liberal followers of Paul Andersen and the orthodox pastors of the Synod.[7] The Andersen group, known as the Northern Illinois Synod, also determined to reissue Guldberg, and did so, in 1854, on their own press--their antipathy to the Synod pastors being too great to allow them to make use of their edition.[8] In the same year the Eielsen camp. who called themselves the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, also resolved to adopt a hymnal for their synod. Rev. P. A. Rasmussen, one of their leaders, recommended the adoption of Jens

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5. The name was later changed to Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, and was commonly called the Norwegian Synod, or simply, The Synod.

6. Rohne, op. cit., p. 140 and O. M. Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America (Minneapolis, 1925), p. 223.

7. Rohne, op. cit., p. 134.

8. Ibid,m p. 142.

Johnsen's Christelig Psalmebog.[9] After some debate about forsaking the tried and tested Guldberg, the resolution was passed.[10] However, for unknown reasons the resolution never bore fruit, and the Eielsen congregations also continued to use Guldberg.[11]

On the surface it would appear that the churches were moving toward some sort of mutual agreement in the matter of a hymnal. In reality they were all merely using Guldberg as a temporary measure. None of them were satisfied with it as a permanent hymnal. The most frequent complaints with it were its high flown language, its lack of some of the old Lutheran "heritage hymns" (kjaerne-psalmer)[12] familiar to those who were acquainted with

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[9] See above, p. 66, note 36.

[10] The action was taken at a formal synod, the minutes of which have been reprinted in J. Magnus Rohne, "Report of the Annual Meeting of the Haugean Churches held at Lisbon, Illinois, in June, 1854," Studies and Records IV (Northfield, Minn., 1929), pp. 37-38.

[11] "Nogle Ord angaaende Salmebogsagen," Budbaereren XII (May 1880), p. 73. The writer, who gives only the initial G, is possibly the editor, Chr. O. Brohaugh.

[12] "Heritage hymns" does not adequately express the meaning of kjaerne-psalmer. Kjaerne is translated as kernel, core, heart, pith, in other words, at the center. Kjaerne-psalmer, consequently, denotes those hymns, much used in the past, which have become central in the religious life of the people.

Kingo, and its shortage of hymns appropriate to the various texts of the service. Writers in all three of the major groupings of the Norwegian Lutherans voiced the same criticisms.[13] Furthermore, they were agreed in principle on the desirability of having a single hymnal common to all the groups. But they differed over what the contents should include.

The Synod people characteristically and thoroughly went about meeting their needs by creating their own hymnal. The committee, which worked on the book through-out the last half of the 'sixties, reads like a roster of the church fathers: U. V. Koren, Nils Brandt, P. A. Rasmussen, H. A. Preus and Laur. Larsen. They were guided by three principles: to use language which had the common touch and would appeal to their parishioners; to select hymns appropriate to the scripture texts of the service; to include the _kjaernepsalmer_ on which the older genera-tions had been nurtured.[14] The finished product was published in 1870. In 1874 Østby was deploring the unilateral action of the Synod and urging that all the synods agree on Landstad. It was without doubt the best of all the hymnals, he said, and it possessed the great advantage of being by far the most widely used book in Norway. By using Landstad the church in America would be bound with a strong tie to the mother church.[15] In 1880 the writer in Budbaereren, which now represented what had become known as Hauge's Synod, was deploring the actions of both the Synod and the Conference.[16] His choice for a hymnal on which to agree was Hauge's, partly because it contained a good selection of mission hymns.[17] In 1887, the hymnal committee of the Synod took up the matter of a common hymnal and, for the record, produced a chart comparing the offerings of all the regular hymnals, old and new, concluding that for its size the Synod hymnal offered the most of the best of the Lutheran heritage hymns.[18]

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[13] See the article quoted above in Budbaereren; P. G. Østby, "Salmebogsagen," _Lutheraneren_ (September 1874), p. 130 and "Salmebogsagen," _Beretning om det 9de Overordentlige Synodemøde af Synoden for den Norske Ev.-Luth. Kirke i Amerika_ (Decorah, Iowa, 1868), p. 58. These _Beretning_ (annual reports) will be hereafter abbreviated to _Beretning...Synoden..._ for the sake of convenience.

[14] _Beretning_, op. cit., pp. 57-58. Of the committee, the first 3 men did most of the work.

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15. Loc. cit.

16. The Conference viewpoint was represented by Lutheraneren. To trace the tangle of splits and mergers among the Norwegian Lutherans would take too much space here. The reader is referred to Nelson and Rohne.

17. Loc. cit. This was the Andreas Hauge hymnal of 1875. See above, p. 68, note 41. Eventually Hauge's Synod also adopted Landstad.

18. Beretning, etc. (Decorah, 1887), p. 135.

Changes are wrought slowly in a church body. Action once taken and custom established, especially with something that becomes the personal property of the people the way hymns do, creates a pattern of thinking and feeling which is not easily altered. The issue of a common hymnal never was resolved for the Norwegian Lutherans as long as they continued to use their native tongue. Even today when services are conducted in Norwegian over the air the hymn numbers are announced for both Synoden's and Landstad's salmebog. The goal of a common hymnal was realized, but in English, and only after merger talks were in progress which resulted in the union in 1917 of the three major bodies of Norwegian Lutherans. The book they published was The Lutheran Hymnary (Minneapolis, 1913). This book combined text and tune in the same edition in the customary American style of hymnal. Of the melody books which were used prior to this more will be said below. Here also, as we shall see, the Norwegians had their differences of opinion. And again the Synod men distinguished themselves by maintaining their own opinions regarding the tunes of the hymns.

2. The Precentor and Education in America

Closely allied with the hymn singing in the church was the work of the precentor. His job in the church was to lead the singing of the congregation and to read the opening and closing prayers.[19] In the absence of the pastor he would conduct the entire service, reading a postil for the sermon. Outside of the church, in districts where a parochial school was functioning, his job was to teach the children their basic subjects, which stressed indoctrination in the tenets of the church, and added such practical subjects as reading, writing and arithmetic--and singing. Part of each child's memory work included learning the key hymns of the church--the *kjaerne-psalmer*.

The first precentor who is mentioned by name is Ole Knudsen Trovatten. He was chosen to be precentor of the newly organized congregation at Koshkonong, Wisconsin, by Pastor J. W. C. Dietrichson in October, 1844. He was also hired, at ten dollars a month, to teach the children for three months in the year 1845. He was to teach only religion and hymn singing. The other subjects the children would have to get in the district school of the settlement.[20] In the parochial school which Pastor

[19] The precentor also had the duty of vocally representing the congregation at baptisms. Together with the sponsors he said Amens to the prayers and statements of the pastor.

[20] J. W. C. Dietrichson, *Reise blandt de norske Emigranter i De forenede nordamerikanske Fristater* (Stavanger, 1846).

H. A. Preus set up in the Spring Prairie parish, the daily curriculum for the winter months, November to February, called for two and a half hours of reading, one and a half of catechising or questioning, one hour of singing, one of writing for four days of the week and one of arithmetic on the remaining two days of the six day school week.[21] Six hours of instruction per week in singing represents a pretty sizable portion of the curriculum, even granting that much of the time was probably spent in rote memorization. One may not conclude that this schedule represented the norm for the Norwegian parishes in this country. There was no standardized school system. Each parish had to solve its educational problems as best it could, and undoubtedly some were better served than others.[22] One _may_ conclude from this, however, that these Norwegian pioneers set great store by learning to sing the hymns of the church. In addition to teaching the children the salient portions of the public worship in the Norwegian Lutheran ritual, hymns served to teach the youngsters the basic beliefs of the Christian faith in a way that made them take deep root in their minds and hearts.

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[21] Lydia Bredesen Sundby, "Holding high the torch--Christian Education," in _Norsemen Found a Church_, ed., J. C. K. Preus (Minneapolis, 1953), p. 311.

[22] The orthodox Synod clergy, impelled by the genuine desire to teach their children nothing but the "pure Lutheran doctrine" and influenced by their close connections with the German Missouri Synod, held out long for the establishment of parochial schools. In this, however, they were not supported by the majority of the Norwegians, who did not want their children to grow up alienated from American society. Blegen, in the second volume of his study of the Norwegian migration, _The American Transition_, includes a chapter on the school controversy, called "The Immigrant and the Common School," pp. 241-276.

A facet of Norwegian-American life which has bearing at this point is brought out in Rohne (p. 180 ff.) where he discusses education and the diverging emphases between the Synod pastors, trained at the university in Norway, pastors of the Eielsen and Augustana groups whose education did not include the classical training of the university, and whose personal view of the Christian faith was more Haugean than orthodox (Hauge, it will be remembered, was the great Norwegian revivalist.). Whereas the former placed the greater emphasis on education, the latter placed it on missionary endeavor, giving education second place. Contributing its share toward the differences of opinion in this area was a class consciousness associated with university training which was left over from the Old Country. The cause and goal of the well born and wealthy in the church in Norway was education, that of the common church member mission work. The inherited sympathies of the Norwegians on the American frontier perpetuated this state of mind and materially affected the development of the church in America. If Rohne is right in making this general assessment of comparative values, it helps to account for the differing quality of musical materials published later by the Norwegians, in which the adherents of the Synod reveal a generally sound, conservative outlook.[23]

[23] All of the early Synod people came from well established, cultured homes in Norway, and these people continued to exercise the leadership of the Synod throughout its existence. So, although the middle-of-the road Lutherans later got their quota of university trained men, the cultural pattern set by the early, solid phalanx of Synod men remained characteristic of the later production of the Synod. C. K. Preus, a son of the Synod president, H. A. Preus, in describing his childhood in the parsonage, recalled the enjoyment he derived from the meetings of the pastors in their home with all the fascinating conversation and the delightful part singing. "Minder fra Spring Prairie Prestegaard," Symra II (Decorah, 1906), p. 29. Another Synod son was Hans Gerhard Stub whose father was one of the earliest of the Synod pastors. He wrote, recalling his childhood, that every time Nils Brandt came to visit the house rang with the duets sung by his mother and Brandt. "Fra Fars og Mors Liv," in Symra III (1907), p. 36. And one has only to remember V. Koren's earlier connection with Behrens and the male chorus movement in Norway to realize that the Synod was well represented by people who could, and did, make the most of the opportunities afforded them to engage in cultural pursuits. Koren, in addition, was something of a poet, probably the best known of his works being his recasting of the 100th Psalm, "Ye lands to the Lord make a Jubilant Noise," J. C. M. Hanson, the Norwegian immigrant who established the Library of Congress cataloguing system, referred to these frontier parsonages in his memoirs as "oases of Old World culture of which a number were found throughout Wisconsin, Northern Iowa and Minnesota founded by these early pioneer ministers."

Another set of factors played an important part in the evolution of the Norwegian Lutheran church in America. Those factors were not inherited from Norway but were peculiar to the American scene. The first was the language question, which became more acute as the decades passed. How long could the Norwegians remain a Norwegian-speaking people in an English speaking country? Somehow, sometime, a transition would have to be made to English. The second factor was the alien church climate in which the Norwegian Lutherans found themselves. They were surrounded by the "reformed churches," a handy title which rather inaccurately lumped together Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and other generally non-liturgical church bodies. Both of these factors were not without their influence on the non-liturgical music that was issued for church use by the Norwegians toward the end of the century. And in general the Synod showed the greatest resistance to the inroads made upon the church life by these two foreign elements. This was more true, however, of the second, or specifically religious, element than of the first. For it was the Synod which published the first collection of English hymn texts--in 1879 (see

23. (cont.) What Became of Jens? A Study in Americanization Based on the Reminiscences of J. C. M. Hanson, 1864-1943. From the typescript of the forthcoming book. By special permission of the editors, Karl T. Jacobsen and O. M. Hovde.

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below, p. **140**). A discussion of this non-liturgical music will be taken up in a succeeding chapter. Right now we must return briefly to the precentor.

He was a member of a vanishing type. Not only the advent of the church organ but also the demands of the American society and its school system gradually forced him from his traditional station in the Norwegian churches. Instead of being second to the pastor in importance in the congregation, responsible to a great extent for the conduct of the service and for the religious education of the young, he gradually had to carve out a new niche for himself in the emerging American church. At no time a full salaried member of a congregational staff, the precentor was usually some musically gifted or trained farmer or tradesman, or a school teacher. In many cases, when his services as singer and teacher were no longer required in a congregation, he simply "retired" to his regular week-day work. In other instances, however, his position evolved from that of congregational song leader to that of choir director or organist, or both. Where there was no organ he used his one stringed salmodikon to pick out the four parts of a chorale, note by note, repeating them until the largely untutored choir had learned them by heart.[24] The history of the precentor

[24] An instance of the latter is recorded in P. M. Glasoe,

strikes a loose parallel with that of another figure in musical history--the orchestral conductor. From being a sort of primus inter pares--the leading voice within a comparatively primitive ensemble--he developed into the highly skilled technician who appeared before the ensemble and by means of manual symbols exerted all his skills to achieve a polished artistic result. In the case of the church, at least, the transformation was not in every respect an unmixed blessing. For with the post of the precentor at its best, with all its concomitant duties, went also the former emphasis on the hymn as the musical foundation stone of the service. The advent of the trained choir, with its subtle overtones of performing in the service rather than partaking of it--an emphasis later unwittingly abetted by touring college choirs--did not entirely offset the loss suffered with the supplanting of the older emphasis. This process was incalculably furthered by much of the early choral music that was issued for the church choir, incompatible as it was with the traditional liturgy of the church--a liturgy which, since 1889, was beginning to regain some of its ancient significance. There were actually in progress here two

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24. (cont.) "A Singing Church," in Studies and Records 13 (1943), pp. 97-98. Rohne (pp. 80-83) includes a description of the duties of the precentor.

movements in opposing directions: 1) regaining a sense of liturgical values, 2) introducing an element (the choir) the use of which could be, and often was, foreign to the liturgy. Only in recent decades has the choral movement within the church caught up with the liturgical and begun to reassess its primary function in worship.

3. Liturgical Ideas and Practices

On July 21, 1844, the seventh Sunday after Trinity in New York City, the Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson relates that he conducted a complete church service according to the Lutheran rite--"en fuldstaendig norsk Gudstjeneste med Altergang"--twelve days after he arrived from Norway bound for the Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin. It was one of the earliest recorded services in Norwegian conducted by a fully trained Norwegian Lutheran clergyman in America. The occasion was also a harbinger of the amalgamation of nationalities that was to take place in American Lutheranism a little over a century later. The service, in Norwegian, was held in a German Lutheran church (St. Matthew's), and out of deference to the preponderance of Swedes present the hymns were sung out of a Swedish hymnal and were accompanied by the local German organist, Mecklenborg by name.[25]

It was characteristic of Dietrichson to record these facts. Precise and orderly, he came to America for the express purpose of bringing church order and organization to the Norwegian settlers. He was the third of three leading personalities whose efforts in the 'forties set the Norwegian Lutheran church upon its course--or, more exactly, courses, for the three represented different approaches to the problem of establishing the church among the immigrant Norwegians in the New World. The three men, in order of their arrival in America, were Elling Eielsen (1839), Claus L. Clausen (1843) and Dietrichson (1844). Their personalities are sharply etched in The Lutheran Church among Norwegian-Americans by E. C. Nelson, who gives them the descriptive labels, evangelist, pastor, churchman.[26]

The attitudes of the church people fell into three general categories. On the left were the "Ellingians" who followed Eielsen in their abhorrence of form and organization in church life. They despised what they termed "dead church ceremonies and clerical garb."[27] They adhered to the Ritual only where Baptism and Communion were concerned.[28] On the right were the members of the Synod who accepted the forms of the church, appreciated them as hallowed tradition and followed them closely. Between the two were the rest of the Norwegians who used and revered the forms of the church as good and proper but who could not feel entirely comfortable in either of the extreme camps. These trends, already apparent in the attitudes of the three pioneer churchmen,[29] broadened into well defined differences which ran parallel courses in the various synods until the union of 1917 brought with it the resolve to minimize old contentions.

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[25] Reise, p. 9. It is possible that the organist's name is misspelled in this account. More usual would be Mecklenburg.

[26] I, pp. 71-119.

[27] Eielsen's "Old Constitution" quoted in Nelson, I, Appendix A, p. 338.

In 1853 the Norwegian Synod was organized. Paragraph five of the constitution states that the Ritual of 1685 and the Alterbog of 1688 would be followed in matters of church worship and order. Changes could be made where necessary upon the approval of the Synod.[30] In the years

28. Ibid., p. 341.

29. Clausen was, however, closer to Dietrichson in his outlook on the church than he was to Eielsen.

30. Maanedstidende, 2. Aarg. Extrahefte (August, 1853), p. 12. This represented a slight change over the paragraph on the Ritual in the earlier constitution of 1851, superseded by that of 1853. The earlier wording said changes could be made by the Church Administration (Overste Bestyrelse). The version of 1853 gave the congregations more voice in the matter. This periodical was the organ--unofficial to begin with--of the Synod. It ceased publication temporarily between 1853 and 1856 and changed names twice, in 1856 to Kirkelig Maanedstidende and in 1874 to Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende. It is often called just Kirketidende.

1856-1858 Pastor A. C. Preus wrote a series of articles in Kirkelig Maanedstidende, titled "Den offentlige Gudstjeneste" (The Public Worship), which reveals a thorough understanding of the liturgy and what its function is in the service, and in so doing gives us some idea of what conditions were in this regard among the early immigrant worshipers.

He discusses the service, section by section. In speaking of the opening prayer, of klokkerbøn,[31] he laments the fact that the Ellingians did not use it. They felt it to be unspiritual merely to read a prayer that someone else had written. Preus explains why the Kyrie and Gloria, which appear in the Ritual, are not used (see above, p. 62) and deplores the fact that they are not because their removal from the service took away the principal note of praise in the Sunday liturgy. They were replaced by an opening hymn, the usual one being "Søde Jesu, vi er her" (Dearest Jesus, we are here), which is a hymn of prayer. The service now contained only hymns of prayer, teaching hymns and sacramental hymns. There was no place for hymns of praise. Preus says that this unobtrusive change, i.e. substituting

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[31] This is literally translated "precentor's prayer." The precentor read the opening and closing prayers.

"Dearest Jesus" for the Kyrie and Gloria hymns, had robbed the church people of an important element in their lives as Christian worshipers. He feels that one direct result is the congregation's lack of participation in the responses to the pastor. They have lost the sense of taking part *with* the pastor in a common act of praise. The fact that the hymn, "*Vi tro allesammen*," had also vanished from the service removed the confession of faith too.[32] Worship, he says, should consist of four things: prayer, adoration, confession,[33] teaching.

[32] Rohne (p. 86), in outlining the service as Dietrichson was supposed to have used it, includes the creed "repeated in unison by pastor and congregation." He gives no source for his outline. Presumably he used the *Ritual*, but that makes provision only for singing the creed as a hymn. In fact, it was sung thus from the Reformation on, and prior to that time it was chanted to a Gregorian tone. Since about 1800 the creedal hymn had dropped entirely from the service (see Appendix B, p. 355). Dietrichson, being the proponent of church order that he was, would hardly have added the creed to the service--especially a spoken creed, for which there was no precedent--on his own authority, even if his Grundtvigianism might dictate its desirability. (N. F. S. Grundtvig put great stress on the historic creeds as a basis for the Christian church.)

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[33] Confession here refers to both the confession of faith (*trosbekjendelse*) and confession of sin (*syndsbekjendelse*). Used here, *bekjendelse* denotes man's acts of recognition of God as the forgiver of his sins and the author of his faith.

Of the four only two were left--prayer and teaching. He adds that one of the direct causes for this was the invasion of the church in the eighteenth century by rationalistic thought with its emphasis on human enlightenment and its stress on teaching in the service. People centered their attention on the sermon and became indifferent to the hymns, prayers and communion.[34] This situation, according to Preus, still obtained in his day.[35]

Apparently, voices were raised from time to time asking for changes in the liturgy, because S. M. Krognaes, editor of Den Norske Lutheraner, wrote two long articles in May and June, 1868, in defense of the existing form.[36] His treatment of the liturgy is general and sheds no particular light on it's contemporary use or abuse.

In 1882 the Synod published an English translation of the order of the Sunday service. The book was called Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations (Decorah, Iowa). It contained no music but did include the other ministerial acts: baptism, confirmation, absolution, communion, marriage and the graveside burial formula. The book was reissued in 1891, and in 1900 was bound with Udtog af Alterbogen.

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[34] Rationalism was the popular whipping boy for most of the church's ills in the nineteenth century. Although it undoubtedly did contribute to the difficulties and errors of the church, we have seen in our discussion above, and in Appendix B, regarding the liturgical and musical aspects of church life in the 18th century that there were other factors also which were equally, if not more, responsible for the degeneration of worship in the church.

[35] The first two installments of his articles deal with the service specifically and appear in Vol. II (December, 1856), pp. 277-283 and (January, 1857), pp. 279-299.

[36] Vols. V: 70-73 and VI: 81-88.

4. Bilingualism among the Immigrants

The fact that the book was reissued twice indicates that services in English were not uncommon in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.[37] English was, after all, becoming the daily speech of the immigrants by virtue of their contacts with it through school, business, local government, politics and newspapers. But it is to be expected that English would take longer to invade the church service than it would to replace spoken Norwegian in the home. O. M. Norlie, in his History of the Norwegian People in America (pp. 95-96), divides the first century of immigration into three periods: the Norwegian

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37. O. M. Norlie records the fact that as early as 1848 English services were conducted among the Norwegians in Chicago by the Norwegian pastor Paul Andersen. Norsk lutherske prester i Amerika 1843-1913 (Minneapolis, 1914), p. 21.

period, 1825-1860; the Norwegian-American, 1860-1890; and the American, 1890-1925. "In the American period," he says, "most of them speak English...Norwegian in the Sunday School and young people's society is of the past. English services are supplanting the Norwegian... The Norwegian language..is fast disappearing from the home and the pulpit." This may have been true with the spoken language on the street and in the home, but the church showed far more resistance to change than is indicated by this generalization. Einar Haugen points out that the number of English services did not surpass the number of those conducted in Norwegian until 1925--a full century after the start of the immigration.[38]

That the church was conservative in regard to the change in language is attested to also by the liturgical and musical publications that were issued in this period. English texts began to appear in collections of music in the 'nineties but not in any great number. Although The Lutheran Hymnary of 1913 was all English, the Lutheran Hymnary, Junior of 1916 was bilingual--each hymn appearing in both languages. The Synod published an all English hymnal in 1898 and followed it four years later with a chorale book designed for the Norwegian hymnal. Although the Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations (Decorah, Iowa, 1879) was reissued in 1884 it probably did not enjoy a wide use among the Norwegians. It was a collection of hymns and translations edited by the Rev. A. Crull, a Missouri Synod pastor who taught at Ft. Wayne, Indiana. It was not the work of a Norwegian translator. It was probably published by the Synod in order to have a usable book in English as a temporary measure to be used primarily in Sunday and parochial schools, because, naturally, the question of the use of English was more of an issue with the children than it was with their elders.

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[38] The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953), I, p. 263. In the two volumes of this work Dr. Haugen discusses bilingualism among Norwegian-Americans. In Vol. I, chapters 10 and 11, he devotes a great deal of space to the situation in the church.

5. The Liturgy of 1889--its Music and its Use in America

The ink was hardly dry on the royal proclamation of 1887 in Norway authorizing the use of the new liturgy, when a tastefully printed edition of the ritual for the Sunday service appeared in Chicago, with music. This was two years before the service with music was printed in Norway in the Altar Book of 1889. It is obvious that the pastor who issued the book in Chicago had been eagerly anticipating this new liturgy. He introduces and recommends the new service to his fellow pastors and includes some clarifying rubrics in the service itself. The title of the book is Høimesse-Liturgi for norske og danske Menigheder i Amerika. The editor preferred to remain anonymous, calling himself simply A Lutheran Pastor--En luthersk Prest--on the title page.

The music for the new service now contained many more settings for prose texts than had hitherto been the case. Up to now the music which the congregations had taken part in had been the hymns, largely, the only other portions which were sung being the Salutation response, "And with thy spirit", the Gospel versicle, "God be praised for his glad tidings", and three different Amens. That the congregation often did not sing these responses is evident from the complaints of pastors and church musicians in Norway and America. The people left them to the choir or the precentor. It is easy to understand how this would come about in country congregations where there was no organ to unite the entire congregation. The precentor was responsible for the answers, so he was prepared for them when they came. The congregation was supposed to follow his lead and join in, but on these relatively brief musical sentences it would be very easy to allow them to slip by without taking part.

Eventually, of course, this became a habit and the people came to consider this not only the precentor's duty but his prerogative[38]--until some liturgically concerned pastor would try to jar them out of their complacency and tell them to sing too. How many pastors tried to do this is hard to say. It would be easier, of course, simply to let these portions of the service be a dialogue between pastor and precentor. Where there was a choir, they sang the responses. That this was considered their responsibility is indicated by the fact that where these responses are found printed they are usually called Choir and Congregational Responses (Kor og Menighedssvar). Early chorale books did not include them. Organists must simply have learned them as a part of their technical equipment. They are not printed in the chorale books before L. M. Lindeman in 1877. He had printed them earlier, in his Norsk Messebog in 1870, but had been anticipated by some years by Joh. D. Behrens, who printed them in a collection of male chorus songs which also included some chorales.[39] Behrens' purpose in printing them was probably to popularize them through the male chorus and thus work them back into the congregation. In America these congregational responses were printed in 1866 in Knud Henderson's Choral-Bog (Chicago).[40] Thereafter, in an attempt to educate the people, immigrant editors, such as Erik Jensen, included them in songbooks compiled for the use of church groups, and all the American issues of chorale books included them. After 1899, when the 1889 liturgy was accepted for use in some of the American churches also, the American chorale books (Henderson, Jensen and Lindeman-Glasøe) carried both sets of music. This was somewhat redundant in view of the fact that the old responses were incorporated into the new setting.

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[38] Without doubt many precentors considered this their prerogative also and became jealous of it. The precentor's position in the congregation was a degree above that of the average member. He was sworn in to his position according to a ceremony in the Ritual. Gustava Kielland, in her Erindringer (pp. 173-184), tells the story of a "clan" of precentors in the Finnøy parish near Stavanger and the difficulties that arose when the last of the clan had to give way to a newly appointed precentor.

The new liturgy included, in addition to the former

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39. Both of these publications were part of the running feud which was going on between Lindeman and Behrens at the time (see above, p. 104). Lindeman, in a footnote in the 1870 edition of Messebog, takes issue with Behrens over a statement of his regarding the accentual nature of the congregational responses.

40. The responses are not complete in the copies examined. Missing are the gospel versicle and an Amen.

responses, the singing of the Kyrie and an abbreviated Gloria. Since the Kyrie appeared as a stanza in the Litany, which was included among the chorales, it was often not included when the music for the new service was printed separately. The ancient Preface, which had been restored to the liturgy now, also was set to music. The little booklet of 1887, printed in Chicago, included the above portions of the service plus the Gospel versicle. This was an exact duplication of the music for the service that appeared as a supplement to the preliminary editions of the two new series of lections which were added to the ancient series in the service (see Appendix B, p357 , 27 note27). The music is written with three voices on the treble staff and one on the bass staff, and a footnote at the end says the parts may be sung by two sopranos, an alto and a bass or by soprano, alto, tenor and bass.[41] (See Plate IX).

The composer of the new music for the new service is not given in any of the sources available to the writer. It is possible that Ludvig Lindeman wrote the music. He was the instructor in chant and singing on

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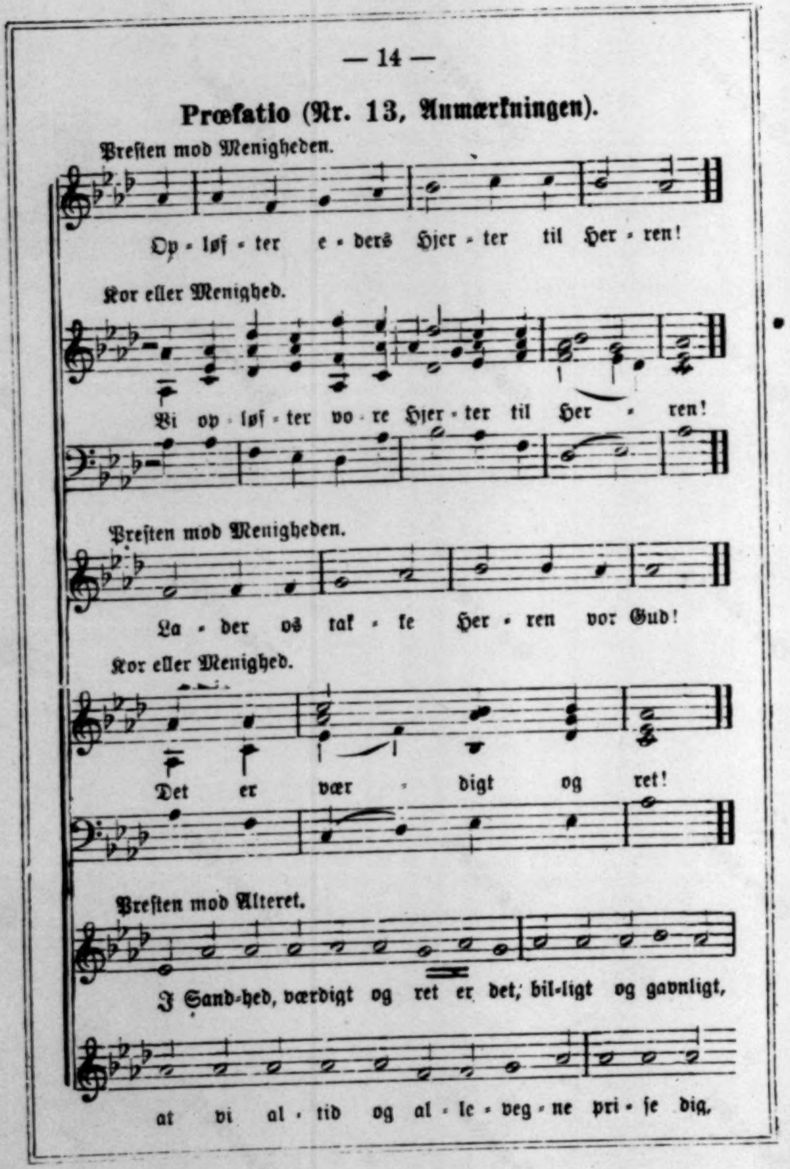
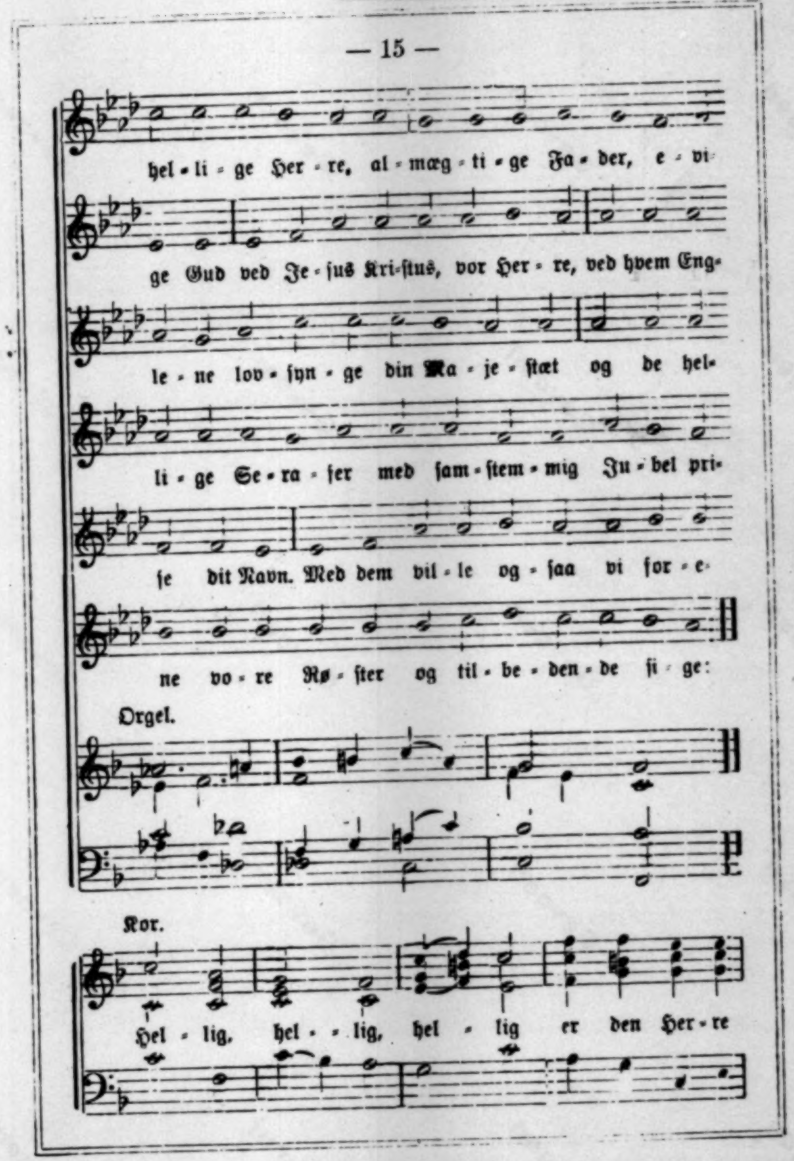
[41] This indicates that the writer, or arranger, of the music conceived of these responses as choral responses, giving the choir the opportunity to sing parts while the congregation sang unison on the melody.

PLATE IX

Høimesse Liturgi, 1887, Chicago


— 14 —
Præfatio (Nr. 13, Anmærkningen).
Preſten mod Menigheden.
Op-løſ-ter e-ders Hjer-ter til Her-ren!
Kor eller Menighed.
Vi op-løſ-ter vo-re Hjer-ter til Her-ren!
Preſten mod Menigheden.
La-der os tak-ke Her-ren vor Gud!
Kor eller Menighed.
Det er vær-digt og ret!
Preſten mod Alteret.
J Sand-hed, værdigt og ret er det, bil-ligt og gavnligt,
at vi al-tid og al-le-veg-ne pri-ſe dig,


— 15 —
hel-li-ge Her-re, al-mæg-ti-ge Fa-der, e-vi-
ge Gud ved Je-ſus Kri-ſtus, vor Her-re, ved hvem Eng-
le-ne lov-ſyn-ge din Ma-je-ſtæt og de hel-
li-ge Se-ra-fer med ſam-ſtem-mig Ju-bel pri-
ſe dit Navn. Med dem vil-le og-ſaa vi for-e-
ne vo-re Røſ-ter og til-be-den-de ſi-ge:
Orgel.
Kor.
Hel-lig, hel-lig, hel-lig er den Her-re

the university theological faculty. He occupied the foremost post of church music in Norway, being organist at Vor Frelsers church and cantor of the city of Oslo. And his chorale book had just been authorized as the official book of melodies for the church. One bit of evidence from the liturgy itself also points to Lindeman. The music for the sanctus was not newly composed but was taken from Vol XXXXIX of the Bach Gesellschaft edition of the works of J. S. Bach. There it appears as No. 72 among the chorales. Lindeman, as noted above (p. 85, note 79), was one of two Norwegian subscribers to the fascicles of the Bach Gesellschaft.

It would be of historical interest to know who the "luthersk prest" was who published this liturgical book in 1887, twelve years before the Synod and the United Church got around to adopting the new liturgy. Individual congregations here and there adopted the new service, e.g. Pastor Adolf Bredesen's congregations at Stoughton and Macfarland, Wisconsin and Pastor D. G. Ristad's at East Koshkonong and Rockdale, Wisconsin in 1895.[42] Pastor Gottfried Smedal, writing in Kirketidende in January and February, 1897, discussed both the new and old services section by section, much as A. C. Preus

[42] Evangelisk luthersk Kirketidende (April), p. 266.

had done forty years earlier. And he made the same complaint that Preus had then--that the congregation did not take part as it should. He urged all to take part and not simply to leave it up to the choir or precentor.[43] Two months later there was an article in the same paper by an anonymous writer who questioned the wisdom of adding anything to the present service. He said the service lasted two to three hours already. Why prolong it with more liturgy? That would simply make it burdensome. It would be more to the point to teach the people to participate better in the present form. If they would do that there would probably be no desire for a change.[44] By 1895 both the United Church and Hauge's synod had added supplements to their editions of Landstad, and included the new music. The Hauge edition contains the music but no service. The 1903 edition of the Synod hymnal contains the music and adds to it the Kyrie.

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43. "Menighedens Deltagelse i Gudstjenesten," (The Participation of the Congregation in the Service), pp. 65-73, 81-91.

44. "Er en Udvidelse af vor naervaerende Gudstjenesteordning ønskelig?" (Is an Expansion of our present Liturgy Desirable?), pp. 160-162.

6. American Editions of the 1889 Liturgy

In 1890 there were three church bodies on the scene: the Synod, the United Church and Hauge's Synod. In 1900 the Synod published an Udtog af Alterbogen, a selection of the essential portions, of the altar book.[45] There were some differences in the service from the Norwegian book of 1889, one of the most important of which was the inclusion of an Absolution after the Kyrie. Another was the choice on the part of the Synod to continue chanting the lections, instead of reading them. Some of the issues included the music of 1889, some included the English service of 1882. After giving the book a year's trial, the Synod published their version of the altar book in 1901 with the title, Alterbog til Brug ved den offentlige Gudstjeneste og de kirkelige Handlinger for Synoden for den norsk-evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika (Decorah, Iowa). There were two issues of it. One published the service and other ministerial acts without music. Another added to this the book containing the three sets of lections published in Oslo. Besides the printed text of the service it had also a music edition. This was not the usual supplement of music to which one could refer for the melodies. For the first time the entire service was printed with the music included as an integral part of it. Some things should be mentioned concerning it. The extremely chromatic harmonization of the Kyrie was taken from Peter Lindeman's setting of the new service.[46] It was later used in the Rhythmisk Koralbog, which the Synod published, but thereafter dropped in favor of Ludvig Lindeman's simpler, more appropriate setting.[47] Possibly due to faulty proof reading, two mistakes crept into the service. The Absolution, included earlier in the book, is omitted, as is the rubric regarding the chanting of the Epistle.

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[45] In 1898 the Synod put out Forslag til Ritual og Alterbog and in 1899 Alterbog til Brug ved den offentlige Gudstjeneste og de kirkelige Handlinger. Neither of the books was dated. Both were simply proposals printed for the sake of allowing the pastors to review them and make suggestions before the final issue was published.

In 1902 the United Church, which was the middle road church mediating between the Synod on the one hand and the Hauge group on the other,[48] published a direct English translation of the new service. The book contained

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[46] John Dahle, "Hvorledes Vore koraler bør synges," No. 4 in a series of articles in Kirketidende (1906), p. 537. Peter Lindeman, it will be recalled, was Ludvig's son.

[47] No. 79b in his Koralbog. **See Plate X for comparison.**

[48] There was also the smaller Eielsen group which had

150 Plate X

PLATE X

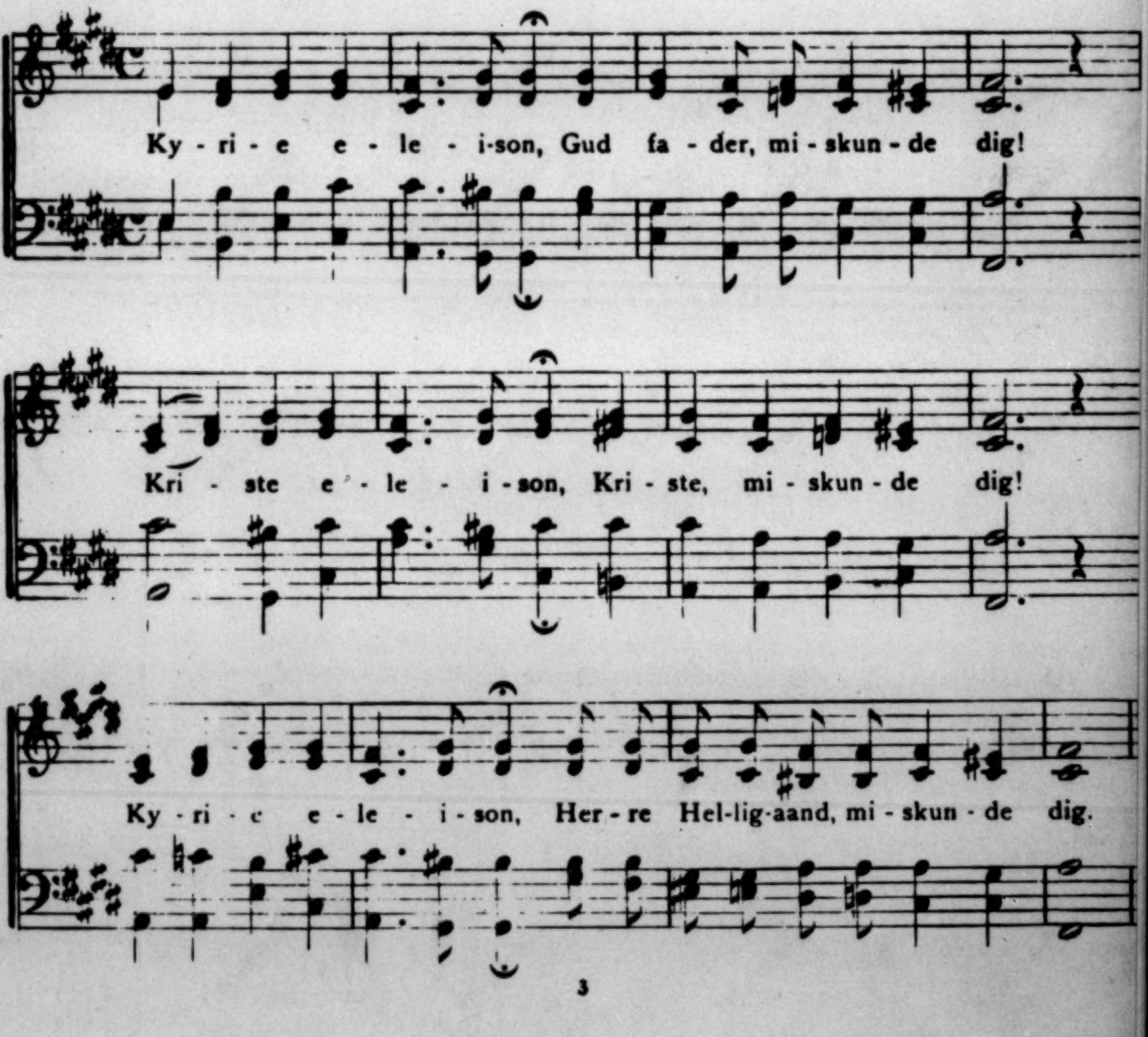
I.

Den Nye Høimesseliturgi.

Peter Lindeman

1. **Indgangsbøn.**
2. **Kort indgangssalme.**
3. a) **Syndsbekjendelse,** som fremsiges af presten og slutter med: "Gud være mig synder naadig."

   b) **Kyrie** synges af menigheden med orgel.

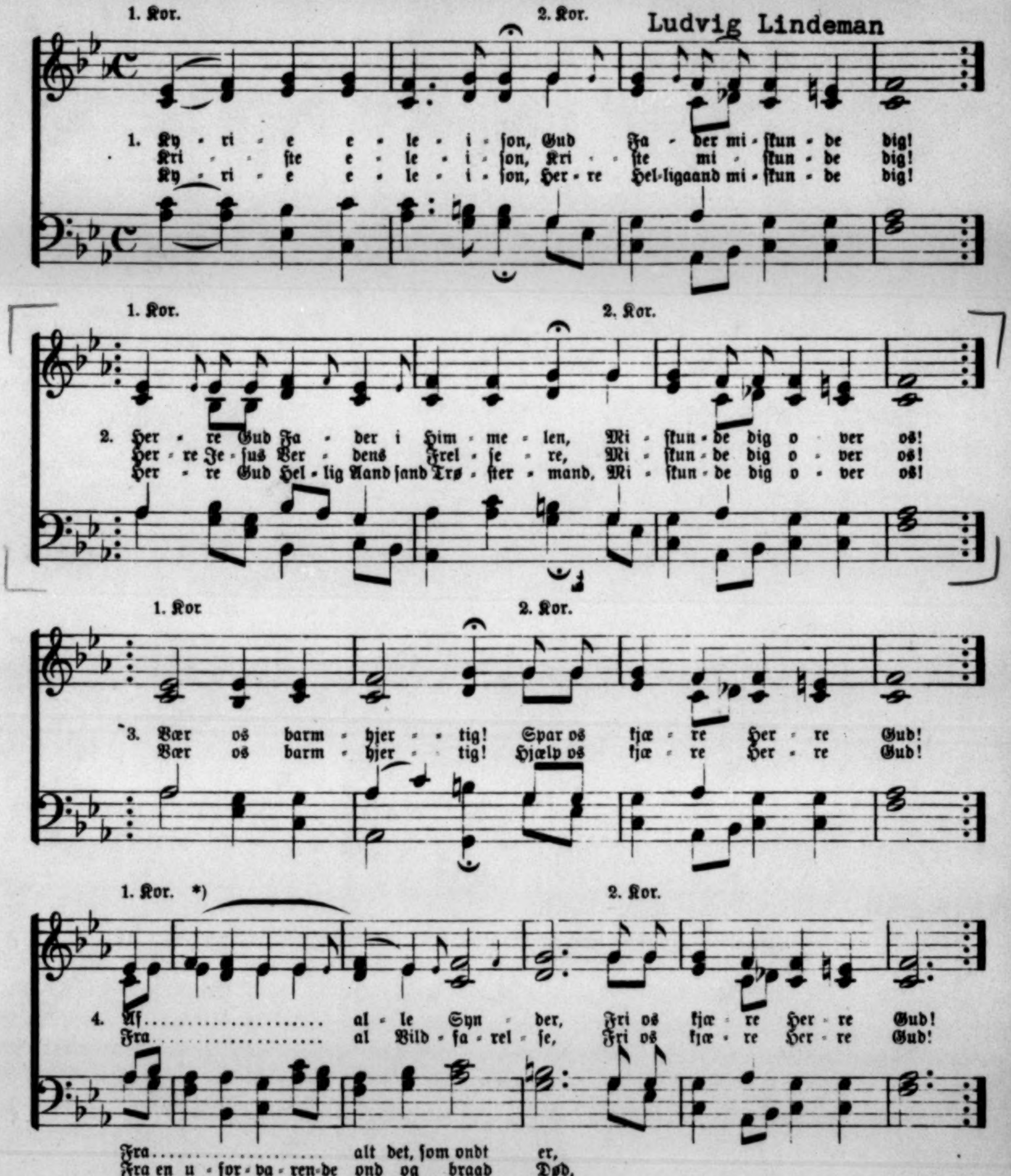

Ky - ri - e e - le - i-son, Gud fa - der, mi - skun - de dig!
Kri - ste e - le - i - son, Kri - ste, mi - skun - de dig!
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Her - re Hel-lig-aand, mi - skun - de dig.

Ludvig

PLATE X

120 No. 100 a. Kyrie eleiſon. Litaniet i fuldſtændig Form. 33.

Ludvig Lindeman


1. Kor.
2. Kor.
1. Ky - ri - e e - le - i - ſon, Gud Fa - der mi - ſkun - de dig!
Kri - ſte e - le - i - ſon, Kri - ſte mi - ſkun - de dig!
Ky - ri - e e - le - i - ſon, Her - re Hel - ligaand mi - ſkun - de dig!
1. Kor.
2. Kor.
2. Her - re Gud Fa - der i Him - me - len, Mi - ſkun - de dig o - ver os!
Her - re Je - ſus Ver - dens Frel - ſe - re, Mi - ſkun - de dig o - ver os!
Her - re Gud Hel - lig Aand ſand Trø - ſter - mand, Mi - ſkun - de dig o - ver os!
1. Kor
2. Kor.
3. Vær os barm - hjer - tig! Spar os kjæ - re Her - re Gud!
Vær os barm - hjer - tig! Hjælp os kjæ - re Her - re Gud!
1. Kor. *)
2. Kor.
4. Af.................... al - le Syn - der, Fri os kjæ - re Her - re Gud!
Fra.................... al Vild - fa - rel - ſe, Fri os kjæ - re Her - re Gud!

Fra.................... alt det, ſom ondt er,
Fra en u - for - va - ren - de ond og braad Død,
Fra Pe - ſti - len - ſe, Hun - ger og dyr Tid,
Fra.................... Krig og Blodſtyrt - ning,
Fra.................... Op - rør og Tve - dragt,
Fra u - - - - - ti - melig Veir - lig;
Fra den - - - e - vi - ge Død, Fri os kjæ - re Her - re Gud!

*) Denne Takt falder væk der, hvor ingen Ord ſtaar.

the ministerial acts but no music. The United Church did not follow the lead of the Synod and include an Absolution after the Kyrie. Nor did they retain the chanting of the lections.

7. The Liturgical Problem of the "free" Churches and Transitional Difficulties in becoming an American Church

In 1897, as though there had not been enough diversity in Norwegian-American Lutheranism, a new church appeared--The Lutheran Free Church (Den Lutherske Frikirke). It did not want to be called a church body but a free association of congregations, the principle being that the church, i.e. the communion of believers, was thought of as being the local congregation, and therefore ought to be no supra-congregational body. The Haugeans and the Free Church, though there were differences between them, were caught on the horns of the same dilemma when it came to ordering their worship: on the one hand, how to avoid pattern setting forms; on the

48. (cont.) formed around him in 1876 when he was read out of the Hauge synod because he took an uncompromising stand against their revision of his Old Constitution. Nelson, op. cit., I, p. 149.

other, how to preserve unity of worship among the congregations without establishing forms. Both groups reacted strongly against the state church of Norway "and all its works and all its ways.". Consequently, they could not simply adopt the new liturgy more or less *in toto* as the Synod and the United Church had done. Instead of binding themselves to traditions of the larger church, they chose to bind themselves to the limitations of their own insight and experience. In seeking to unbind and liberalize their liturgical forms they actually became more conservative than the forces against which they were reacting. This was especially true in the realm allotted to music. Both groups stressed the importance of congregational participation in worship. Yet, whereas the two tradition-minded synods were moving from the narrow musical confines of the old Ritual to the wider, more varied forms of the order of 1889, the two "free" churches elected to retrench, limiting the musical participation of the congregation solely to hymns. Furthermore, the emphasis of these churches on a "personal experience," "spirit-filled," "conversion" type of religion tended to stress an ephemeral type of music--the "spiritual song" (*aandelig sang*), the text of which usually dealt with the subjective Christian experience and the music of which aimed for quick, uncritical acceptance.

It should be said here that this latter type of expression was not limited to Hauge's Synod and the Free Church. All of the churches were experiencing an influx of a more popular type of American hymnody. This was to be expected. The Norwegians were in the process of becoming Americans. In the early immigrant days they lived in tight little settlements, mostly rural, where their speech did not yet set them apart quite so distinctly as aliens. But toward the end of the century, as they became more urbanized, as the rural communities were increasingly invaded by other nationalities, their "Norwegian-ness" became more and more apparent. And the church, conservative by its very nature, became the epitome, especially for the young people, of reaction, of ties with a past of which they knew little and cared less as the years separated them further from it.

Witness to the fact that the churches were aware of the acuteness of the language problem in relation to holding the young people are the youth publications which were issued in English at the turn of the century. Beginning in 1893 Christian Youth was published with varying fortunes by the United Church for about six years. In 1899 the Synod began to publish Our Friend, and in 1900 the United Church set in with Children's Companion. In 1898 three different hymnals were printed in English for Sunday school and church use: The Church and Sunday School Hymnal, Christian Hymns for Church, School and Home and Lutheran Hymnal for the Sunday School.

In addition to the problem of language was that of music. We have noted that the laggard tempo with which hymns were sung in Norway was brought along as part of the immigrant baggage to America. Not until the seminarists began to arrive and commence working in the 'seventies and 'eighties did music receive much attention over and above what the precentors were able to do.[49] The pastors might bemoan the state of affairs but few of them had the time or were equipped to do much more. In 1879 Erik Jensen adopted Ludvig Lindeman's mean tempo of one to one and a half seconds to a quarter note for his chorale book.[50] Twenty years later the book was still being reissued without any suggested tempo change.. In that same

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49. The seminarists were men who had studied in the Norwegian teacher seminaries, or normal schools, where they had received music training also. It will be remembered that both Lars Roverud and Joh. D. Behrens had been active in music instruction in these seminaries (see above, pp. 35 and 81). These seminarists will be dealt with in more detail later in this study. For the report on the activities of one of them see P. M. Glasoe, op. cit., Studies and Records XIII (1943), pp. 92-107.

50. See the foreword to Jensen's Koralbog in Appendix A, p. 323.

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year (1899) Oluf Glasøe published Lindeman's chorale book of 1877 with a supplement of melodies to make it more usable in the American church. In his foreword, which follows Lindeman's, he says nothing at all about tempo, thus underscoring Lindeman's standard.

In view of the contrast between the slow, measured tones of the chorales in church--sung in Norwegian--and the livelier American tunes sung to easily grasped texts outside the church, one need not wonder that the children of the immigrants took to the latter. Many private publications came out from various synodical backgrounds, beginning as early as 1878, with the purpose of providing the incipient church choir movement and the youth movement with an appropriate choral literature.[51] Of this literature more will be said in a subsequent chapter. It will suffice here merely to point out that whereas the United Church and the Synod were in the process of deepening and strengthening their liturgical ties with tradition, Hauge's Synod and the Free Church were cutting themselves off from it. The former were in a better position to maintain a balance in meeting new demands and adapting to changing conditions, while the latter were divesting themselves of the foundation from which a balanced perspective could be maintained. As events developed, the union of 1917 merged three of the bodies--Hauge's, the Synod and the United Church--to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, and together they published a common hymnal which contained not only the liturgy of 1889 but The Common Service, a still more thorough reconstruction of the traditional mass than even the order of 1889.[52] The Haugeans had come a long way from the views expressed by Eielsen in the Old Constitution of 1846. The Lutheran Free Church proceeded on its way independently.[53]

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[51] The appropriateness of the music varied with the taste and knowledge of the publisher. One way to bridge the gap between Norwegian and American was to set a Norwegian text to a popular tune--an expedient as old as music itself. Favored tunes were "Auld Lang Syne" and "Last Rose of Summer."

8. American Sequels to Lindeman's Messebog

The Norsk Messebog which Ludvig Lindeman published in 1870 had its sequels in America too. The possibility of its being used here soon after it was published is suggested by a copy of the original edition which is in the Rølvaag Library at St. Olaf College, which has on it the date 1874 and the autograph of B. J. Muus, pioneer pastor and founder of St. Olaf College.[54] The extent to which this book of Lindeman's was used is difficult to say. Copies of the edition of 1885 are in evidence in upper midwest Lutheran libraries, and still more of the enlarged Cappelen edition of 1891. In any case, the custom of chanting took deep root in Norwegian-American soil. We have seen that the Synod continued to encourage the chanting of the lections, even as late as the altar book of 1901. The United Church followed the liturgy of 1889 in having the lections read. But both groups chanted the Collects, the Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution.[55]

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[52] The Lutheran Hymnary was published in Minneapolis in 1913, thus actually anticipating the union.

[53] The proposed Free Church ritual of 1902 is given in Appendix B, p. 361.

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Lindeman had followed the earlier practice of simply setting out the musical patterns for the chanting of the lections. Knowing the recitation tone and following the symbols accompanying the text, the chanter could take proper cognizance of commas, periods, etc.. In addition, Lindeman had set a few commonly used collects and the other chants of the service directly to notes. In 1891, when Cappelen re-edited the book, he made it more practical immediately by setting all of the collects with their proper notes. Thus, while Lindeman's edition was largely a reference book, Cappelen's was designed for use at the altar. Both contained the formulas for both the common chant (almindelig messe) and the Luther chant (luthersk messe).

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[54] Founded in 1874.

[55] At the recent Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, held in Minneapolis in 1957, a visitor from the eastern part of the United States commented, upon hearing a men's choir chant the psalms at matins, "You people in the midwest are fortunate in having such a long tradition of chanting." More credit for this reputation than is usually given must certainly go to Lindeman and his book of 1870, to say nothing of the thirty-eight years he taught chant in the theological school of the Royal Fredrik University in Christiania.

The first American edition of these chants appeared in The Collects of the Lutheran Church Service (Minneapolis, 1916), edited by F. Melius Christiansen and C. A. Melby. The preface is short and worth reproducing here. It indicates that the chanting of the pastor did not always proceed as it should.

> "This little book has been written for the purpose of aiding in the correct performance of the chants of the church service. The traditional and accepted formulas for chanting, which are given in the introduction, may, of course, be independently adapted to the text of the various collects by the pastor, but unless he has considerable experience in chanting and is well versed in the theory of the "plain song," he will meet with many difficulties in avoiding errors in accentuation, emphasis and rhythm. The beginner is

> also tempted to make too free use of the variations from the recitation note and thus improperly change the musical recitation into a singing of the text. If he has small musical training, he may, with no music to guide him, wander away from the proper key and throw the organist and congregation into confusion.
>
> For these reasons it has been thought best to furnish the collects with a full musical notation and to add a short statement on the principles of Lutheran liturgical singing.
>
> The chants and responses of the service other than the collects are not given here, as they can be found complete in the music edition of The Lutheran Hymnary.
>
> As the epistles and gospels according to the new order of service are not to be chanted, but read, they are likewise omitted.
>
> If this little work can add something to the appreciation of the beauty and the spiritual and devotional value of our Lutheran service and assist in a presentation worthy of it, the expectations and wishes of its authors will be amply satisfied."

The Introduction opens with a historical survey of chant so general as to be misleading from the standpoint of giving correct information. It is also afflicted with the prevailing anti-Roman bias. The parts dealing with the principles of singing in general, and chanting in particular, are much better. The basic principle is stated thus: "The rhythm...is that of speech, of the prose text to which the chant tones are set. It is a natural rhythm, a succession of syllables combined into expressive groups by means of accent, varied pitch, and prolongation of tone." The editors rule out the use of accompaniment except for the pastor's intonation of the

Gloria and the Lord's Prayer, "...since these are of a more modern and melodious character." They plead with pastors to get some voice training since they will be using their voices so much in their work. They advise careful preparation of the chants on the part of the pastors. Finally, they explain the absence in the service of chanting by the congregation. With a large group, they say, chanting loses its essential quality of rhythmic freedom: "Either the chant will become measured, monotonous and unimpressive, or it will degenerate into hurried, mumbled and blurred singing, which has little beauty and less actual devotional value. Even a passably smooth performance demands so much practice that it is out of reach of the average congregation. Still worse is the effect of that monstrosity--the four-part chant--which has absolutely no historical justification. Far better to work for vigorous, hearty and joyful singing of our hymns and make this the main part borne by the congregation in its form of worship."[56]

The Collects which have been set in all three of the books discussed thus far--Lindeman, Cappelen and Christianson-Mellby--are those of Veit Dietrich, a contemporary and friend of Martin Luther, who wrote them originally to open or close the sermon.[57] Although they were not written to replace the ancient collects they soon did so in many churches. They came into use in the Danish-Norwegian church with the altar book of Peder Palladius in 1556. They are more comprehensive than the older collects, more didactic, bound more closely to the texts. The ancient collects are pithy, more general in content, better suited to chanting.

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[56] Christiansen was the instructor in chant for a number of years at the United Church seminary in St. Paul. Consequently, he spoke from first hand experience in working with chant.

Following Lindeman's lead, Christiansen and Mellby used Luther's Epistle tone for the Collects. It seems strange, therefore, that they failed to use Luther's Gospel tone for the Words of Institution--as Luther himself did. Apparently they failed to attach the significance to this tone that Luther did. The Words of Institution are the heart of the Gospel. To accompany them Luther used this tone which was the ancient Gospel tone. It represented by different degrees of the scale the words of Jesus, the evangelist and a third party in the Gospel narrative. Thus the evangelist begins the Words of Institution with the characteristic minor third skip from C down to A, the recitation tone, whereas the words of Jesus center about the note F. By using this tone for these words Luther had very neatly incorporated into the heart of the weekly Sunday service the musical tone which was closely associated with Gospel but which had hitherto only been used in the performance of the popular liturgical passion plays.[58] (See Plate XI)

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[57] Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 271.

That Lindeman was aware of this particular significance of Luther's setting is doubtful. At any rate, he does not mention it. It is more likely, as noted earlier (p. 114), that he merely adopted the logically formed sequence of the Lord's Prayer and the Words of Institution as he found them in Naue's Altargesänge. His appreciation of Luther's chant formulas seemed to derive more from an artistic and esthetic sense--they had more variety than the common chant employed in Norway. Therefore he provided them as an alternate form.

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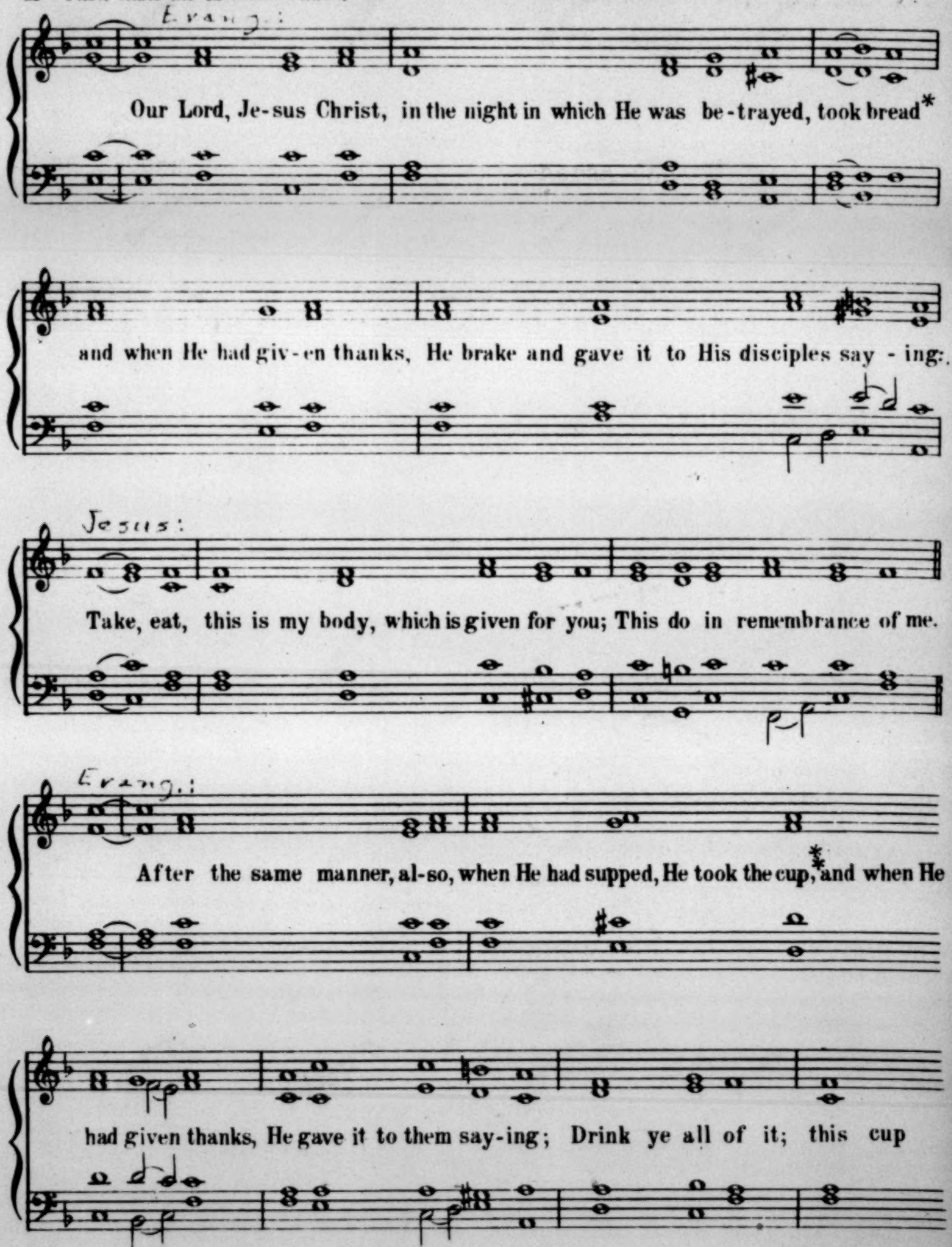
[58] A discussion of Luther's lection tones is given in Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik, I, Der Altargesang, 1. Die einstimmigen Weisen, eds. Christhard Mahrenholz and Konrad Ameln (Göttingen, 1941), Introduction, pp. 23-24. In his Passions, Bach also uses different registers for the parts of Jesus and the evangelist, following in principle the old formula.

PLATE XI

16. The Words of Institution.

The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church, 1922

☞ *Then shall the Minister chant:*


Evang.:
Our Lord, Je-sus Christ, in the night in which He was be-trayed, took bread*
and when He had giv-en thanks, He brake and gave it to His disciples say-ing:
Jesus:
Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; This do in remembrance of me.
Evang.:
After the same manner, al-so, when He had supped, He took the cup,** and when He
had given thanks, He gave it to them say-ing; Drink ye all of it; this cup

*) *Here he shall take the Plate with the Bread in his Hand.*

**) *Here he shall take the Cup in his Hand.*

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Although Christiansen and Mellby say in the introduction that they are following Lindeman and Cappelen, they depart from them at this point and give no explanation for it. They use only the common tone for the Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution. One possible explanation might have been the desire to provide a setting of the English text with this tone, the Luther setting having already appeared in English in the Lutheran Hymnary. To reproduce it here would have meant mere duplication. If this was the case, however, it must have occasioned a cumbersome exchange of books at the altar for the pastor who chanted the service and wanted to use Luther's setting of the Words of Institution. On the other hand, if the pastor chanted the Collects and the two communion chants, just discussed, from the Christiansen-Mellby book, the resulting juxtaposition of modes would have made for a service in which all the Collect and Benediction formulas were characterized by a bright G major tonality, whereas the heart of the communion liturgy was colored by a distinct G minor tonality. Whether or not this practice was common the writer is unable to say, but if it was it could well have helped to perpetuate the generally held somber view of communion.[59] It is also possible that the editors chose to use this tone precisely for the artistic contrast afforded by the two tonalities. With the view of the sacrement that pre--vailed, this contrast may have seemed both logical and fitting. A highly chromatic harmonization of these chants appears in the organ setting of the service, Høimesse Liturgien, arranged and published by P. H. P. Rydning in 1902 (Minneapolis). He also included a harmonization of the Luther chant in which, not understanding the original intent, he changed the melodic outline, destroying the distinction between the part of Jesus and that of the evangelist.

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[59] Obviously, there are theological and historical reasons also for this view of communion.

It remained for John Dahle and M. Casper Johnshoy to arrange, edit and publish the most complete and most satisfying book of chants for the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. Their book was The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church. It came out in 1922. John Dahle, a seminarist about whom we shall hear more later, taught singing and chant at Luther Seminary, the training school for the pastors of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, in St. Paul.

In this volume Lindeman's Messebog received its final reincarnation. By now it was quite a different book. Like Cappelen and Christiansen-Mellby it was designed as a handbook for the service. Unlike them and Lindeman's it contains no instructions for chanting, nor does it include the basic formulas. It simply sets out the texts between the lines of the chant.

The book was different from its predecessors in other respects too. It returned to the use of the ancient Collects. They had been printed (together with the Dietrich Collects) in the Hymnary in 1913. For the first time in almost four hundred years Norwegians could again use the traditional Collects--in English, however.[60] Having become acquainted with them in the Hymnary, pastors began to ask that these also be set to music and be made available for chanting in the service.[61]

Another change from the earlier books was the inclusion here of the music for the entire service, plus the service of ordination which had some music of its own. Furthermore, all the texts throughout appear in both English and Norwegian. The Norwegian Lutheran Church

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60. One reason they were restored to use, aside from their intrinsic worth, was the difficulty occasioned by the Dietrich collects which were written to harmonize with the ancient series of texts. The two new series of 1887-88, though related to the older series, caused dissatisfaction at this point because of differing emphases.

61. O. E. Brandt, in the foreword to this book, p. 1.

was still a bilingual church. The Collects, which did not exist in the Norwegian language, were translated by the compilers into Norwegian for use here.[62]

For the first time the old common chant (almindelig messe) did not appear at all. The Luther chants are used exclusively for the Collects and Words of Institution, the Lord's Prayer, Salutation and Benediction tones coming from Naue. Another difference in this edition is the harmony provided with all the chants to ease the task of the organist. Dahle had already had occasion to harmonize some of the Collects. In 1906 he arranged the music for an English setting of the liturgy of 1889[63] and set the ancient Collects for the high festivals. His work of 1922 is in the same vein but simpler. It has fewer chords and smoother progressions. But the chants are still colored by too many cadential seventh chords. Actually, by comparison with what Peter Lindeman did with the Kyrie and Rydning with the Lord's Prayer (above, p. 149 and 163), Dahle shows utmost restraint and good

62. The Graduale which the Church of Norway published in 1925, edited by O. M. Sandvik, still used the Dietrich collects, though reworded somewhat from the Cappelen version.

63. He used the English translation by E. G. Lund in The Orders of Service, 1902.

taste. Even so, his seventh chords and constant cadences tend to chop the chant up into sections, and in many places continual chord changes restrict the freedom
XII of the melody. (See Plate XII). In practice, the harmony, instead of supporting and aiding the melody, hampers it.[64] This is even more true of the setting of the Lord's Prayer where there is a chord change on almost every syllable. This chant was probably sung much slower when Dahle harmonized it and his purpose quite certainly was to give it a full, rich harmonic sound, since it was the prayer of the Lord. But, taken at the normal tempo of speech it is impossible to play it with any degree of ease, and the rapidly changing harmonies merely sound
XIII cluttered. (See Plate XIII). The Words of Institution fare better, but here too a thinning out of the harmony
would have produced a better effect. (See Plate XI). XI
The settings in this book yield another adverse result. Where the pitch does not change for a number of syllables, only one note is given, or two if there is a change of harmony. This is the recitation tone. This appears at first hand to be good in that it leaves the text free of notation. However, when the punctuation calls for a

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[64] The author speaks here from his own experience as a church organist.

PLATE XII

I. Collects Of The Church Year.

The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church, 1922

First Sunday in Advent.

Förste söndag i Advent.

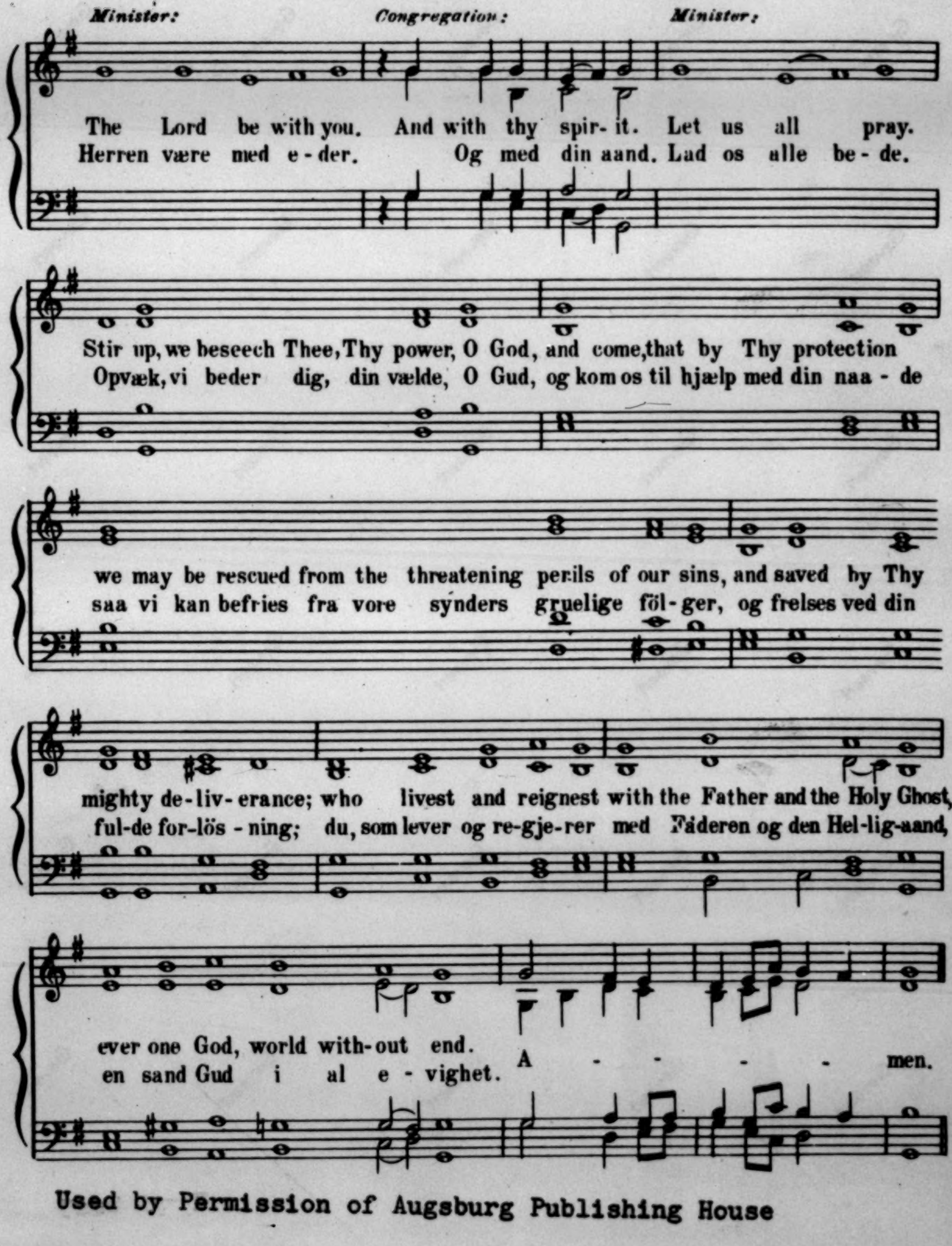
Minister:
Congregation:
Minister:
The Lord be with you. And with thy spir- it. Let us all pray.
Herren være med e - der. Og med din aand. Lad os alle be - de.
Stir up, we beseech Thee, Thy power, O God, and come, that by Thy protection
Opvæk, vi beder dig, din vælde, O Gud, og kom os til hjælp med din naa - de
we may be rescued from the threatening perils of our sins, and saved by Thy
saa vi kan befries fra vore synders gruelige föl - ger, og frelses ved din
mighty de - liv - erance; who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost,
ful - de for - lös - ning; du, som lever og re - gje - rer med Faderen og den Hel - lig - aand,
ever one God, world with - out end. A - - - - men.
en sand Gud i al e - vighet.

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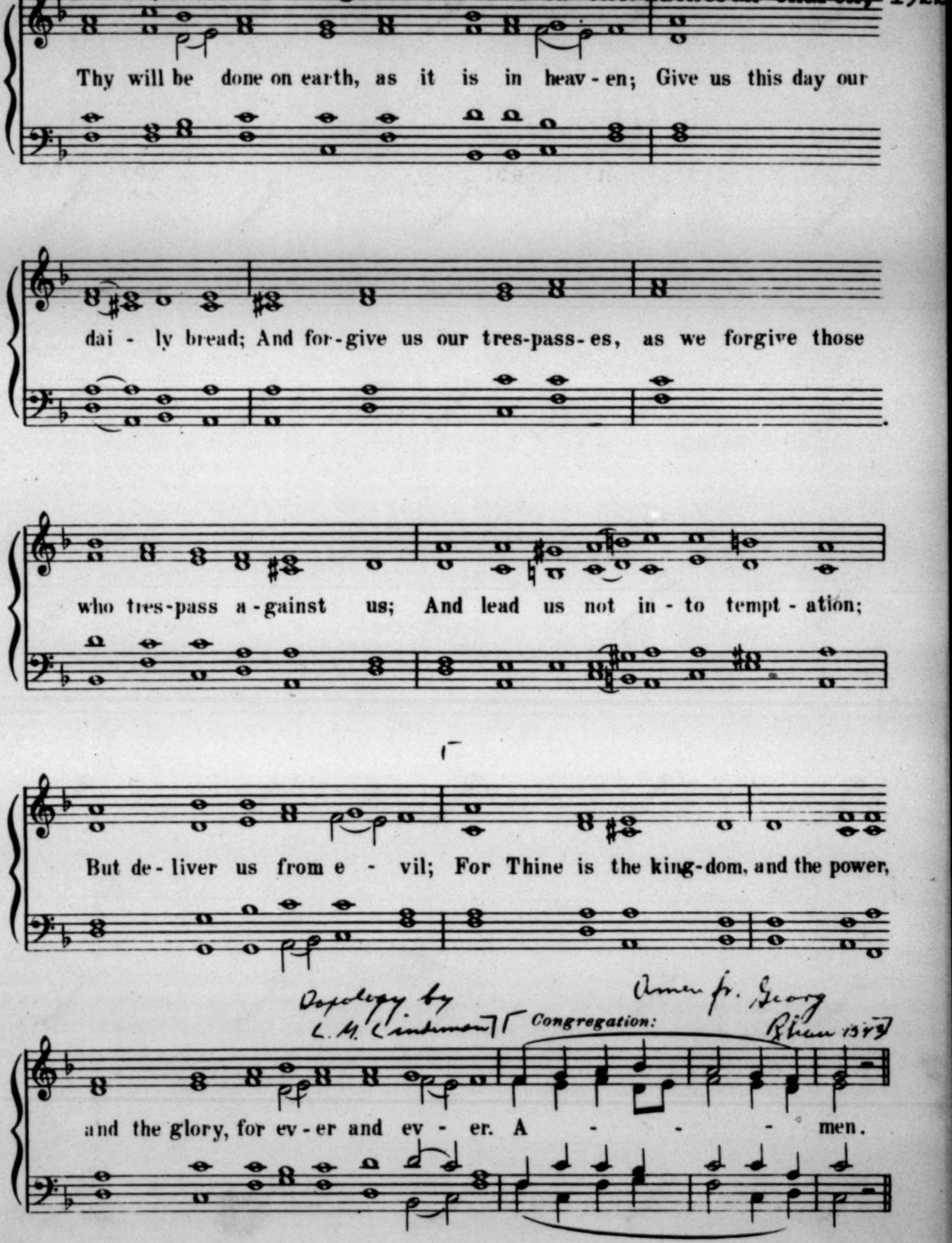
PLATE XIII

Lord's Prayer-The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church, 1922


Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heav-en; Give us this day our
dai-ly bread; And for-give us our tres-pass-es, as we forgive those
who tres-pass a-gainst us; And lead us not in-to tempt-ation;
But de-liver us from e-vil; For Thine is the king-dom, and the power,
and the glory, for ev-er and ev-er. A - - - - men.
Congregation:

Doxology by L. M. Lindeman

Amen fr. Georg Rhau 1543

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change in the melody the notes suddenly increase in number to one per syllable. The result is that the singer, or cantor, tends to speed up on the recitation tone and for no reason at all, except that he is suddenly faced with pitch changes, to slow up at the cadential points. This speed change is not dictated by the text, therefore adds nothing whatsoever to the chant. In fact, it detracts from it because it focuses attention on the vehicle of the text rather than on the text. The cadential chord structure, mentioned above, abets this unfortunate rendering of the chant.

The special music for ordination includes the first stanza of Martin Luther's hymn "Come Holy Spirit, God and Lord" (Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott), sung to its usual chorale melody. The first phrase is intoned by the pastor, the congregation joining in to the end. This is followed by a versicle, Salutation and the ordination Collect.

CHAPTER IV

CHORALES AND HYMN TUNES IN THE IMMIGRANT CHURCH

Introduction

We have seen how the musical, liturgical and hymnodical situation in the church of Norway was paralleled in the daughter church in America. On both sides of the Atlantic churchmen and musicians shook their heads and deplored the state of affairs. In Norway it was Ludvig Lindeman who, because of his native gifts and his professional standing, was called upon to provide the book which more than anything else gave new life to the singing of the congregation. Among the Norwegians in America it was quite a different thing. There was no autheritarian church here, backed up by the state, to commission such an undertaking and to pass upon it after it was done. The problem, however, was just as keen and it was complicated by the fact that the Norwegian Lutheran church was of necessity becoming an American Lutheran church. And in the process of doing so it suffered repeated convulsions which broke it into disputatious fragments, scattering its efforts and spending its resources. For

For many years musical advancement was to come about only through private endeavors. As a result, it was exactly seventy years after the founding of the first congregation in 1843 before most--but not quite all--of the Norwegians could voluntarily unite to publish a common hymnal in 1913. The road to 1913 was marked by several publishing ventures. The fortunes of these ventures will be set out below.

1. Henderson's Choral-Bog, 1866

The first of them was a book called Choral-Bog, indeholdende Melodier for de Norske og Svenske Psalmebøger, tillige med en Musik Skole (Chorale Book, containing melodies for the Norwegian and Swedish Hymnals, together with a Music School [i.e. a Music Method]). It was published in 1866, a full five years before the first trial issue of Lindeman's book came out. Its author was a modest man by the name of Knud Henderson. His book is not in any way the match of Lindeman's. Nevertheless, the fact that he turned it out at all is in itself noteworthy enough to warrant recording his story and how he came to edit the first Norwegian music book in America.[1]

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1. When O. M. Norlie says on p. 54 of Prominent

Henderson was born in the Voss area of western Norway in 1835. When he was fourteen years old his whole family migrated to America. They settled on some land just outside Cambridge, Wisconsin, where his father in time built up a family farm. Two years after they arrived, Knud left home to seek some sort of handwork in Chicago, preferably tailoring or cobbling, since such work would always be in demand. He was unable to find any positions open so he settled for painting, contracting himself out for a three year apprenticeship. Eventually, he went to work on his own. In the meantime his education had progressed in another direction as well.

When he came to Chicago in 1851 he accompanied his

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1. (cont.) Personalities (Northfield, Minn. Mimeographed, 1942), that Ole Andrewson was the first to issue a music book among the Norwegian-Americans, he is referring to Guldberg's Psalmebog, which Andrewson published in 1854. Andrewson's edition contains no music, nor did the original edition of 1778.Norlie falls into the common trap of equating hymn with music. See above, note 24, p. 61.

   The biographical information concerning Henderson is taken from Knut A. Rene, Historie om Utvandringen fra Voss og Vossingerne i Amerika (Madison, Wis., 1930), pp. 386-388, and from Henderson's Digte om Hjemlige Tanker (Cambridge, Wis., 1928), a collection of verse, mostly his own, in the introduction to which he gives a brief account of his life (pp. 3-8). This account is written in the naive style of one who feels he has done something worthy of note but does not wish to boast of it. He refers to himself constantly in the third person.

brother to church on his first Sunday in town. The church was a Norwegian Lutheran congregation served by the Rev. Paul Andersen, a man who had more than a little to do with shaping the early course of Scandinavian Lutheranism in America.[2]

As Lutherans go, Andersen was liberal in his views. He had learned English before he left Norway, and when he got to America he attended Beloit College where his Lutheranism took on a tinge of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. When he organized the first Norwegian congregation in Chicago he affiliated with the Franckean Synod, a liberal German-American organization, because he liked neither Eielsen's approach to church life nor Dietrichson's. One of the things he liked about the Franckean group was its avowed "Americanism."[3] Because he was opposed to perpetuating Old World practices in the New World he began immediately to conduct services in English as well as in Norwegian. For the same reason he rejected the Norwegian Ritual, replacing it with one of his own.[4] He organized a Sunday School in English, and was undoubtedly the first Norwegian Lutheran in America to do so.[5] For a number of years he had Swedish immigrants in his congregation also, since the Swedes had not yet organized a congregation.[6] In short, he had established a tradition here which was, in the words of E. Clifford Nelson, "an odd blend of Norwegian Haugeanism, 'Reformed' influences via Beloit College, 'American Lutheranism,' and conservative Scandinavian Lutheranism."[7] It was into this church, with its heterogeneous background, that Knud Henderson walked.

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[2] We have already had occasion to refer to Andersen in note 37, p. 138.

[3] Nelson, op. cit., I, p. 133. There are numerous references to Paul Andersen in works on early Scandinavian-American Lutheranism. Most recent are those in Nelson, I, p. 127 et passim.

[4] Norlie, . . . Personalities, p. 60.

Henderson's narrative continues. It was not long before it was discovered that Knud had a pleasing voice, so he joined the choir. Then, according to his account, some people in the congregation began to cast about for a likely candidate to study music seriously. The choice fell on Henderson, who modestly demurred at first, saying he was only a painter's apprentice. However, when Pastor Andersen and a few others offered to pay his way, he agreed and plunged into the study of music in night school.

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5. J. C. Jensson, American Lutheran Biographies (Milwaukee, 1890), p. 27.

6. "Reports to the American Home Mission Society," ed. Conrad Bergendoff in Augustana Historical Society Publications V (1935), p. 35.

7. Op. cit., I, p. 209.

With George F. Root, of the firm of Root and Cady, he studied singing.[8] He studied organ with a representative of the Chant and Pilcher Company of pipe organ builders. And with a Swede, by the name of Edward A. Wimmerstedt, he studied theory and composition.[9] Before long he was conducting his own singing schools. In time he had three of them, one in a Hauge synod church, one in Pastor C. J. P. Pedersen's church and one in Pastor Jens I. Krohn's church--all in Norwegian. "It is said," continues Henderson's narrative, "that Knud was the first to conduct Norwegian singing schools in Chicago."[10] In the last church he also functioned as organist.

In the early 'sixties he was approached by some members of the choir who asked him to rearrange the voices in some of the chorales in the chorale book. The parts were too difficult for them to sing. The chorale book they referred to was O. A. Lindeman's. In addition to

[8] Root, a 19th century composer of note, also wrote a number of popular Civil War songs. Among them are "Just before the battle, mother" and "Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching."

[9] Wimmerstedt is said to have been the earliest professional Swedish musician in Illinois, settling in Chicago about 1864. Ernst W. Olson, _The Swedish Element in Illinois_ (Chicago, 1917), pp. 158-159.

[10] Henderson, op. cit., p. 5.

having difficult harmony, the book was large and costly. It cost four dollars in 1866. So Henderson set to work and reharmonized some of the chorales. When these proved to be satisfactory, he continued the work and published his chorale book in 1865.[11] Before we examine the book itself we should note Henderson's further musical activity.

In 1876 he published a collection of secular songs called National og Selskabs Sange (Chicago). Being inventive by nature, he became interested in making the salmodikon more widely usable, so he devised a method for playing it from notes.

Previous methods had all used numbers. In addition, he improved upon the construction of the instrument. He says that he built and sold over three hundred salmodikoner. Then he made up a set of twelve tables (probably one for each of the chromatic keys) to enable people to teach themselves to play the piano and organ. After a number of years of such activity he decided to move back to the old home in Cambridge. There, while he worked the

[11] Henderson gives 1865 as the publishing date. However, the earliest copies the writer has been able to find are all dated 1866, which is also the copyright date. Furthermore, in the foreword to his edition of 1873 Henderson himself speaks of the continuing need for the chorale book, "two editions having been sold out since 1866"--2,000 copies in all.

family farm, he continued to teach singing, traveling about on a horse "that wore a lantern about its neck for dark nights and stormy weather," working "to teach his countrymen music...and not being too concerned whether or not he was paid for his services and his books."[12] Knud Henderson lived to be ninety-five years old, dying in 1930--a lifetime which very nearly spanned the first one hundred years of Norwegian-American history.

References to Henderson's Koralbog in Norwegian-American historical accounts are invariably general and one gets the impression that this was a book to take its place beside the other front rank congregational music books of the church. But this book is qualitatively different from the rest. It was not produced by a man with his feet firmly planted in the liturgical and musical soil of the church. His liturgical ideas undoubtedly came to maturity under the free-wheeling influence of Paul Andersen. If his musical education was adequate, his work does not show it. When he set about putting together a chorale book he did not do so from within a milieu which by its mere existence could help to shape and guide such an undertaking. He did not have the

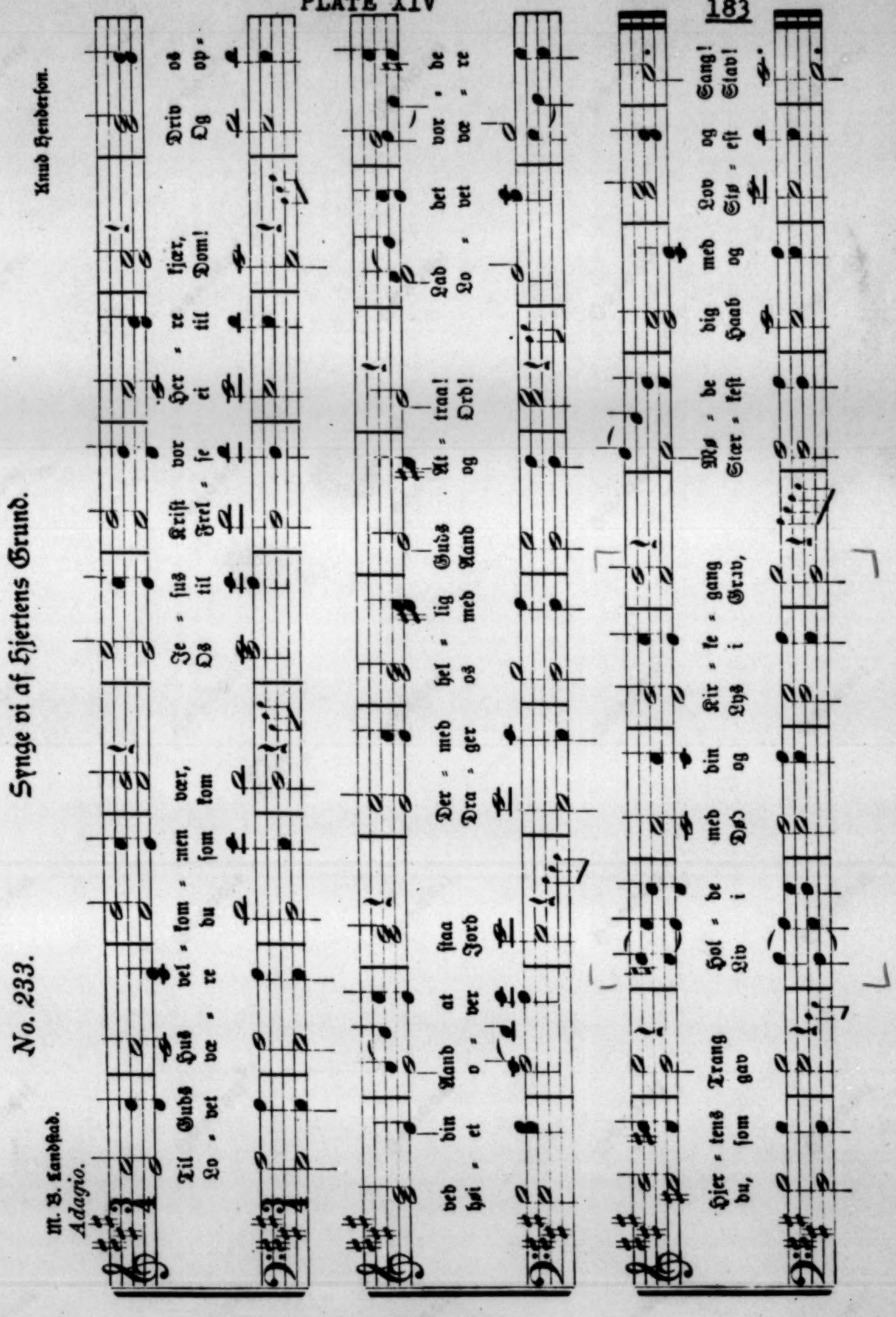
[12] Ibid., p. 7.

qualifications of scholarship necessary to investigate sources and make qualitative decisions. All these things become evident upon investigation of the book in its various editions.

The bulk of the first edition is made up of historic chorales of the Lutheran church. But there are gaps where key segments of the literature are absent, e.g. the Kyrie hymns; the creedal hymn (subsequently added); the Litany (subsequently added); the great Easter hymn, *Den Herre Krist i dødsens band* (*Christ lag in Todesbanden*): Luther's hymn on the Word of God, *Behold os Herre* (*Erhalt uns Herr*)--the text of which is here set to *Jesu dulcis memoria*. To a certain extent, of course, Henderson suffered from the neglect of the liturgy which was general in the nineteenth century. But he did not possess the knowledge or have the insight requisite to cause him to dig below the surface and discover what had been neglected. He included in the book some of the standard congregational responses, but he left out others, e.g. the Gospel versicle. Those he did include he attached to the ends of two hymns towards the back of the book, where they all but escape the eye (Nos. 59 and 61 in the 1866 edition). The hymns he added to the chorale book in later editions are an admixture of tunes from Lindeman's and Hoff's books, from the songs of the popular Swedish composer, Oscar Ahnfelt, his own compositions and others. They are not integrated into the total work, but merely added as supplements, a group at a time. So the book gives more the impression of being a random collection of hymns than an organized chorale book. Because the book is constructed so loosely it is difficult to study it and arrive at a satisfying conclusion regarding its organizatimn. The organization which seems apparent in the first edition--i.e., a core of Lutheran chorales arranged alphabetically--breaks down as each succeeding edition adds supplements. Actually, the title of the book betrays the changing character of the contents. It began as a chorale book for the Norwegian and Swedish hymnals.[13] But, by 1873, Henderson had changed it to Chorale Book, containing Melodies for Hymns and Spiritual Songs (Koral-Bog, indeholdende Melodier for Salmer og aandelige Sange).

[13] Apparently, when Henderson first published the book he hoped that Swedish churches would also use it. However, he included no index to help the Swedes to match their texts with the proper tunes. All the texts in the book are in Norwegian with the exception of No. 1, which is Swedish. He did print numbers above each tune indicating the meter of the text. In later editions he added a metrical index to facilitate finding hymns.

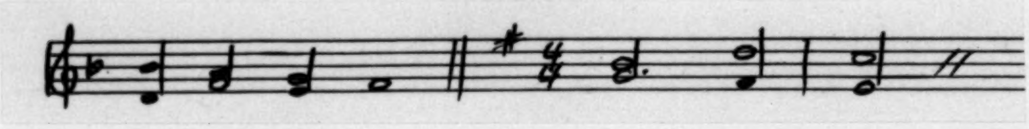
In spite of all this the book might have achieved more artistic stature than it did because it does contain a respectable collection of classic Lutheran tunes, German and Scandinavian. But it has one fatal weakness--the harmonization of the melodies. Henderson could with justification be classified as a musical tinkerer. He seldom incorporated a tune into the book without altering the harmony, usually to its detriment. It is here that he reveals the hand of the amateur most clearly. He is particularly fond of moving the voices in contrary motion--in itself a perfectly acceptable harmonic procedure, provided that a given progression warrants or allows it. Henderson, however, disregards the qualifying conditions and employs contrary motion wherever he can. The results very often are less than satisfying musically. (See Plate XIV). He ignores basic rules of harmonic procedure that govern such things as parallel progressions, the use of dissonances and inverted chords, the doubling of parts, etc. His own compositions sound best when he sticks to fundamental chord progressions. In addition there are outright mistakes which could easily have been corrected with a more careful proof reading. The mistakes are not even rectified in later editions. In his first


No. 233.
Synge vi af Hjertens Grund.
M. B. Landſtad.
Knud Henderſon.
Adagio.
Til Guds Hus vel-kom-men vær, Je-ſus Kriſt vor Her-re kjær, Driv os
Lo-vet væ-re du ſom kom Os til Frel-ſe ei til Dom! Og op-
ved din Aand at ſtaa Der-med hel-lig Guds At-traa! Lad det vor-de
høi-et o-ver Jord Dra-ger os med Aand og Ord! Lo-vet væ-re
Hjer-tens Trang Hol-de med din Kir-ke-gang Mø-de dig med Lov og Sang!
du, ſom gav Liv i Død og Lys i Grav, Stær-keſt Haab og Stø-eſt Stav!

Henderson's Koralbog

PLATE XIV

chorales he adheres to the curious custom of notating suspensions in the following manner:



By Henderson's own count twenty-four thousand copies of the book had been sold by 1928. In 1918 it was still being issued. These facts would seem to contradict what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs regarding the shortcomings of the book. The writer is at a loss to account for the apparent contradiction, except to say that undoubtedly thousands of less critical people than he apparently found the book satisfying and derived a genuine pleasure and, perhaps, benefit from it. They were probably helped, too, by studying his singing theory, which he rewrote and expanded to include some exercises in the 1894 edition.

One final observation should be made before we leave Henderson. When Lindeman's two Melodibøger of 1871-72 were discussed above (pp. 102-105), we mentioned Behren's attack on them because Lindeman had ignored the rhythmic form of the chorale. The issue, which was effectively dealt with in Norway by the official authorization and publication of Lindeman's book, without rhythmic chorales, lived on in America for another thirty-five years. Knud Henderson was the first to champion the rhythmic chorale among the Norwegians in America. He urged the use of the chorales in their original form in the forewords to the editions of 1866 and 1873.[14] Where was his interest in the question aroused? He does not say, but the first chorale in his book (edition of 1866) gives a hint. It is taken from Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs, a collection of repristinated chorales published by Fridrich Layriz in 1849 and 1854 (Noerdlingen) (See Plate XV). Layriz had followers among the German Lutherans in St. Louis, and from there, as we shall see, came support for the friends of the rhythmic chorale.

2. Jensen's Koralbog, 1879

Despite its many editions and the sincere wishes of its author, Henderson's chorale book did not begin to meet the demand for a satisfactory book of melodies for the churches in America. The reason, of course, lay in the musical shortcomings of the book. Those who were

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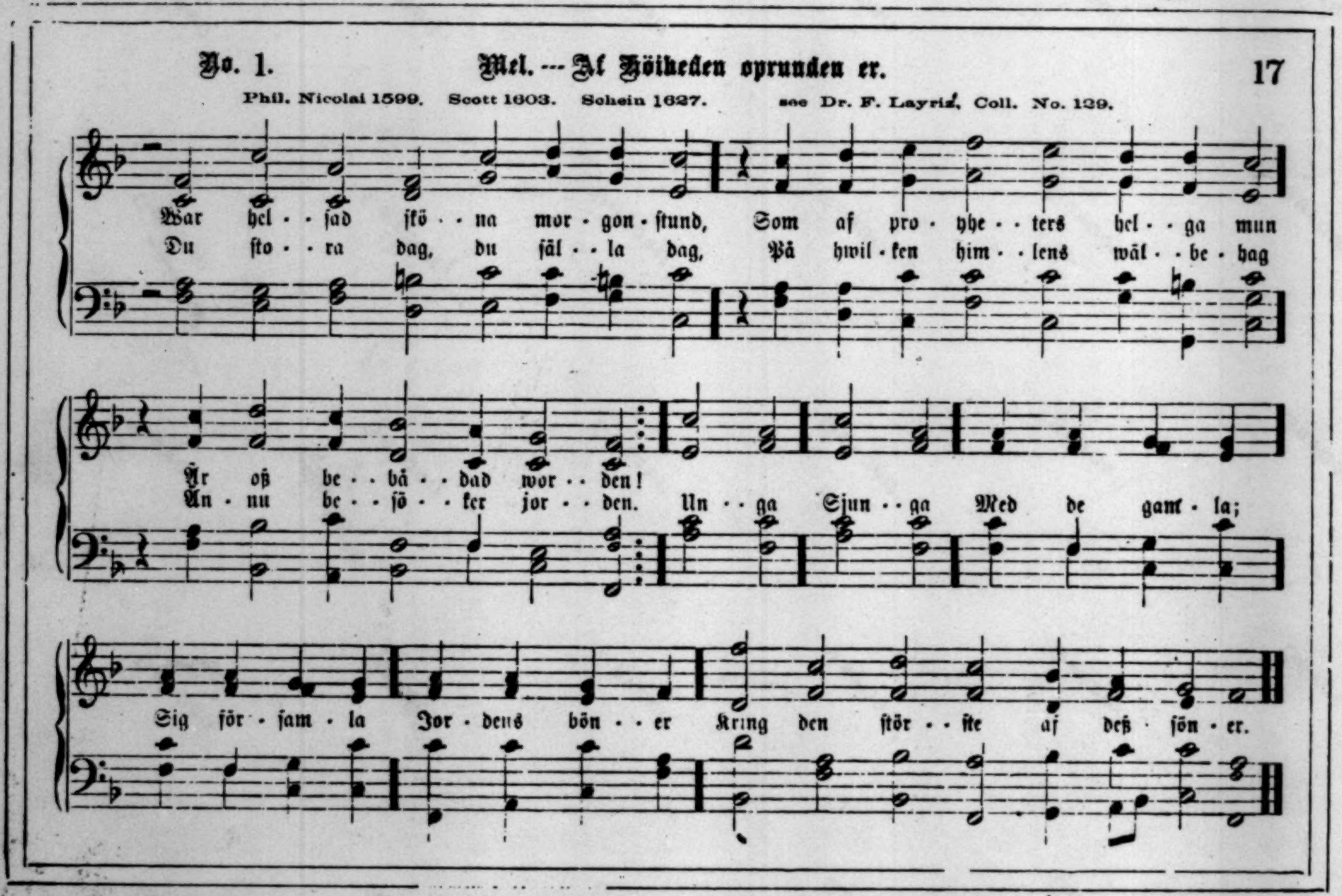
[14] A facsimile of the foreword to his Koralbog, together with a translation of it, may be found in Appendix A, p. 323 .

PLATE XV

Henderson's Chorale-Bog, 1866



No. 1. Mel. — Af Höiheden oprunden er. 17

Phil. Nicolai 1599. Scott 1603. Schein 1627. see Dr. F. Layriz, Coll. No. 139.

War hel-ſad ſkö-na mor-gon-ſtund, Som af pro-phe-ters hel-ga mun
Du ſto-ra dag, du ſäl-la dag, På hwil-ken him-lens wäl-be-hag
Är oß be-bå-dad wor-den!
Än-nu be-ſö-ker jor-den. Un-ga Sjun-ga Med de gam-la;
Sig för-ſam-la Jor-dens bön-er Kring den för-ſte af deß ſön-er.

concerned about providing for the musical needs of the church soon recognised the book's limitations and looked elsewhere. One such person was Pastor Erik Jensen, a prolific compiler and publisher of musical volumes, most of which were designed for the young people of the church and which set a consistently high standard of taste, especially considering the times in which they were published.

The first mention of Jensen in connection with the musical activity for which he was later to become so well known is found in the official report of the Synod in 1876. There it states that Pastor Nils Brandt, the chairman of the Chorale Book Committee, and Jensen had drafted a letter to the Norwegian organist, Erik Hoff, asking him if he would provide, in his forthcoming chorale book, for the needs of the recently published Synod hymnal. Hoff promised to do this.[15] The title of the book he published two years later indicates that he fulfilled his promise--Melody Book for all the Authorised Hymnals--Hauge's, Landstad's, the Evangelical-Christian, Guldberg's and Kingo's--together with the Hymnal for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.[16] We will return to

[15] Beretning . . . Synoden . . . (1876), p. 90.

[16] Melodibog til samtlige authoriserede Salmebøger--

the Brandt committee later.

It is worth noting at this point that there were now four melody books available to Norwegian-American Lutherans--O. A. Lindeman's of 1838, Henderson's of 1866, Ludvig M. Lindeman's of 1877 and Hoff's of 1878. In 1879 Jensen added a fifth. On the face of things the Norwegian-Americans would appear to have been in more danger of choking from a surfeit of chorale books rather than of expiring for want of them. However, there were various reasons why this was not actually the case. O. A. Lindeman's book was outdated and was written in the half note style which had contributed so much to robbing the congregational singing of its life. Furthermore, as Henderson pointed out, it was relatively expensive.[17] And it did not satisfy the needs of the Landstad, Hauge or Synod books. Henderson's book, as we have noted, was musically unsatisfactory. Ludvig Lindeman's book, by far the best and most consistent artistically, aroused both admiration and antagonism. Undoubtedly, it was used by many, and in the end it survived the vicissitudes that

16. (cont.) Hauges, Landstads, evangelisk-kristelige, Guldbergs og Kingos--samt til "Salmebog for den norsk-evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika" (Kristiania, 1878).

[17] Henderson's book sold for $1, as against $4 for Lindeman's.

felled the other books and emerged the dominant book in the Norwegian-American Lutheran church by virtue of its artistic excellence, as it had earlier in Norway by virtue of a royal fiat. The Lindeman book, however, was not designed to satisfy the Synod hymnal. The Hoff book came out with the express purpose--articulated in the title--of trying to satisfy everyone. As often happens in such endeavors, it ended by satisfying no one, or at least not very many. Hoff took part in the rhythmic vs. isorhythmic chorale dispute by straddling the fence. He said both forms were acceptable, and added that the chorales should take the form best suited to them.[18] Here was the voice of mediation. But the times were not asking for mediation. In America one was either for the rhythmic chorale or against it. Those who were for it were the most vocal and, judging from what has been written concerning the question, all of them were in the Norwegian Synod. For many of the chorales in his book Hoff provided both the rhythmic and the isorhythmic form. His purpose was to give the people their choice.[19] The

18. Introduction to Hoff's Melodibog.

19. This was what the commission had asked Lindeman to do in his chorale book, but he did not comply with their wishes.

result, however, as with many of the alternate tunes he provided, was simply to add length to the book without contributing substantially to its quality. He used many of his own tunes, and most of them suffer by comparison with Lindeman's original tunes. Different by nature from Lindeman, he did not possess the same spark of creative genius.[20] Hoff's Melodibog never did enjoy a wide usage in either Norway or America. It became a sort of reference volume from which other editors extracted what they wanted.

Of all the books, the one which Jensen published in 1879 was the one best suited to the American church. It was put out by a competent man who recognized a need and an opportunity and met them both. It did not satisfy everyone, but it dominated the scene for a period of about twenty years. Again, since an acquaintance with the author's life will contribute to an understanding of

[20] Hoff's best known hymn tune is the melody he wrote to Grundtvig's hymn, Guds menighet, syng. In his Melodibog he indicated that it be used also for U. V. Koren's hymn in the Synod book, Al verden nu raabe for Herren med fryd. This was translated into English by Harriet R. Spaeth, becoming "Ye lands to the Lord." With Hoff's tune it was incorporated into Christian Hymns in 1898 and The Lutheran Hymnary in 1913. In the Service Book and Hymnal (1958) it appears, slightly altered, as "O sing, all ye lands." The tune, at least in American Lutheran hymnals, is now inseparably tied to Koren's text.

his work, a brief account of it follows.

Jensen was born in 1841 in the eastern part of Norway. He attended the teachers' seminary at Asker from 1859 to 1861, then taught school for six years before emigrating to the States. When he came to America he attended Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis and was ordained a pastor in 1870.[21] For twenty-two years he served parishes in Wisconsin. In Coon Valley he established a congregational library and installed a pipe organ in the 'eighties. In addition to being competent with musical tools he was gifted with a ready literary pen. He wrote informative forewords for his musical works, contributed articles to papers and wrote books. Unfortunately, his pen was too ready at times and it was not always governed by the same sense of balance and good judgment which the editing of his music volumes demonstrated. He became embroiled in a congregational dispute which eventuated in his being ousted from his parish in 1893. With the exception of one year when he supplied a vacant parish, he did not again serve as a regular pastor. He kept up a running twenty year battle with the United Church, fighting his ouster, but finally gave up.[22] He apparently supported himself and his family on the proceeds from books, articles and lectures. In spite of all his difficulties, or perhaps because of them, he lived to the ripe age of eighty-six years. He died in 1927.[23]

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[21] In order to train men for the ministry, the Norwegian Synod began to send students to St. Louis in 1859. Nelson, op. cit., I, p. 163. This established a bond with the Missouri Synod which helped to produce musical as well as theological repercussions among the Norwegians for many years. The affiliation was broken off in 1883.

His chorale book is called *Koralbog, indeholdende Melodier til Synodens, Landstads, Guldbergs o. fl. Salmebøger, samt til Salmer i det Engelske (Hymns), for Orgel, blandet Kor eller Piano* (Chicago), (Chorale Book containing Melodies for the Synod, Landstad, Guldberg and other Hymnals, together with Hymns in English, for Organ, Mixed Choir or Piano). The English hymns in the title refer to the English hymnal which the Synod published in 1879. Jensen's book impresses one immediately by its general appearance. It contains the elements that one has come to expect in a late, well organized book of chorales--a detailed and informative foreword (see Appendix A, p. 324), a body of carefully edited and tastefully printed tunes, metrical and alphabetical indexes. In addition it has an index of tunes for the English hymns in the 1879 hymnal, and a list of the sources of the melodies. By comparison with Henderson's book this one is very satisfying.

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[22] Jensen had defected to the Anti-Missourian cause in 1888. O. M. Norlie, *Who's Who Among Pastors in all the Norwegian Lutheran Synods of America, 1843-1927* (Minneapolis, 1928), p. 281. The Anti-Missourians were a group of Synod pastors who had taken issue with the official Synod position on some vital theological issues. In 1890 they joined with other bodies to form the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. The controversy is discussed in Nelson, op. cit., I, esp. pp. 260-267.

[23] Biographical data are taken from Norlie, *Who's Who....*, p. 281, Hjalmar Holand, *Coon Valley* (Minneapolis, 1928), p. 110 and *Lutheraneren* (Sept., 1928), p. 1199.

As one discovers upon examination of the book, Jensen is beholden for just about the whole book to Ludvig Lindeman. He says in the foreword that he has not found another chorale book as satisfying as his. Out of one hundred ninety-two melodies, one hundred forty-seven are from Lindeman, twenty-seven from Hoff and eighteen from other sources, ten of those from the Church Book with Music, edited by Harriet Reynolds Krauth in 1872 (Philadelphia). Jensen edited some of the harmony in the Lindeman and Hoff tunes, but most of them are identical with the originals. Most of the non-Lindeman tunes are included for the sake of the Synod hymnal, which of course Lindeman had not taken into consideration at all. The ten English hymns include "standards," such as "Rock of Ages," "Nearer my God to thee" and "Abide with me," which were beginning to creep into use among the Norwegians.[24] Jensen also includes all the regular congregational responses, printed together as in Lindeman, near the back of the book. He later added two supplements to the book, the first one of sixteen melodies in 1882, the second and more important one in 1895.[25] It contained thirty-one tunes and was published separately at first, Later it was bound into the book. The melodies in it, from mixed sources, were designated for the new hymns which the United Church had incorporated into Landstad's _Salmebog_ and called _Salmebog for lutherske Kristne i Amerika_ (Minneapolis, 1893). In 1899 Jensen added the Peter Lindeman setting of the new service.

Since it was seemingly incumbent on everyone to come to terms with the rhythmic chorale, Jensen also took his stand. He sided with Lindeman. But he used Hoff's argument in doing so. A congregation, he said, is basically unmusical and cannot sing the difficult alternating rhythms of the original chorale form.[26] Jensen went on to say that the chorale in rhythmic form is really art music and had better be left to the choir.[27] Apparently there had been talk in the Synod about cooperating with the Germans in St. Louis in the area of the chorale because Jensen says,

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[24] Henderson had used the first two also, 13 years earlier, but with Norwegian texts.

[25] _Tillaeg til Lindemans Koralbog, indeholdende Melodier til ny optagne Salmer og Sange i Salmebog for lutherske Kristne i Amerika, eller Landstads Salmebog med Tillaeg_ (Minneapolis) (Supplement to Lindeman's Chorale Book, containing Melodies for the recently added Hymns in Hymnal for Lutheran Christians in America, or, Landstad's Hymnal with Supplement).

> "I have not been able to accept the idea that we should adopt the original form of the chorale, set out by Layriz, in order to work together with our German brothers-in-the-faith against the day that we forsake our mother tongues and unite as an English-speaking church. In the first place, the majority of the German Lutherans in this country probably do not use Layriz, or, for that matter, the original form at all, and of those who do use it there are surely very few congregations . . . where the rhythmic versions are sung reasonably correctly. In most instances, one will be forced after a while to give up the exact original rhythmic form as unnatural and impractical and adopt a more natural form."[28]

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[26] Hoff expressed this idea in the foreword to his Melodibog.

[27] This was the point of view Lindeman expressed in Martin Luthers aandelige Sange (Christiania, 1859), p. IX.

[28] Foreword to Jensen's Koralbog. A facsimile of the original and a translation by the author may be found in Appendix A, p. 323. An anonymous writer, reviewing Jensen's book in Kirketidende (April, 1880), pp. 253-256, applauded Jensen's use of Norwegian sources for his hymn tunes. It would not be right, he said, to forsake the Scandinavian treasury of hymnody.

Jensen had not always spoken thus. Just two years before this, in the foreword to Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom, he wrote, "Some of the chorales I have set in their original, or so-called rhythmic form, as Behrens and Layriz have them . . . Even though the rhythmic form in several of the melodies has more life and is the more natural, we must be careful in introducing these melodies in congregations that do not sing well."[29] In the foreword to the 1881 edition of the same book he urged users of the book to refer to his Koralbog when using the chorale tunes rather than to sing them in the rhythmic form they have in his Sangbog.[30]

He gives no explanation for his change of heart. He had had plenty of time prior to the publishing of his Sangbog in 1878 to become acquainted with Lindeman's isorhythmic handling of the chorale. Lindeman's two melody books had been in circulation for six years or more. Moreover, Jensen had spent a year and a half in Norway in 1873-74 convalescing after an attack of tuberculosis. As interested as he was in music he surely would have availed himself of the opportunity to get acquainted with the Lindeman books which were creating such a musical stir. Why, then, this complete about face between 1878 and 1879? Since no explanation is offered, it remains a matter for conjecture. One possibility is suggested in his foreword when he says that, following in the steps of Lindeman, whose book was now officially recommended for all of Norway, his, i.e., Jensen's, book would bind mother and daughter churches closely together.

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[29] The author's translation of this foreword may be found in Appendix A, p. 335.

[30] For some reason he left Nu hviler mark og enge (Nun ruhen alle Wälder) in its rhythmic form.

One might raise the question at this point as to how important an issue this really is. It assumes importance when one considers the fact that for a period of twenty years--from 1879 to 1899--Jensen's was the dominant chorale book in the Norwegian-American Lutheran church, and in his book it was Lindeman's view of the chorale which was being propagated. Whatever Lindeman himself may have felt about having his chorale book literally pirated from him, Jensen, in effect, was preaching Lindeman's gospel and laying the ground work for the adoption in 1899 of the original Lindeman edition. How would this story have read if Jensen in 1879 had followed the course upon which he set out in 1878? Would the churches have gained a feeling for the rhythmic chorale? Or would Jensen's book simply have been a failure? Again, one can only resort to conjecture.

Jensen's book never did receive the official sanction of a synod. In the first place, its publication was a purely private venture. Jensen did it completely on his own initiative. At the time it came out the only synod stable enough organizationally to think about a chorale book was the Norwegian Synod, and its leaders, by and large, were opposed to Lindeman's treatment of the chorale. By the time the United Church had achieved a degree of unity and stability, Jensen was out of grace with them. Under the circumstances it would have been impossible for the United Church to have adopted Jensen's book officially. Furthermore, such a thing as an official chorale book would be likely to be sanctioned by a synod only if it had also been commissioned beforehand by the synod.[31] Jensen's book was widely used, but its choice rested upon the individual congregation or organist. It was even used in the stronghold of the anti-isorhythmic chorale forces--the Washington Prairie church in Iowa, home congregation of the Rev. U. V. Koren, from 1894 to

31. The closest Jensen's book came to achieving synodical recognition was the fact that, after the first edition, which was published in Chicago, it was issued by the official publishing house of the Synod in Decorah, Iowa.

1910 president of the Synod and one of the most persistent champions of the rhythmic chorale.[32]

Erik Jensen was the first, but not the last, of the seminarists to make a musical impact on the Norwegian-American Lutheran scene.[33] As we shall see, these men exerted a conservative, steadying influence on musical developments. What they produced in America reflected sound instruction in the teacher seminaries they had attended in Norway. Jensen's other musical publications will be taken up in the next chapter.

3. Apland's Chorale Book for *salmodikon*, 1881.

Mention must be made in passing of a chorale book edited for the *salmodikon* in 1881 by Ole O. Apland, of

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32. This information was given the author in a conversation with Marie Koren, daughter of U. V. Koren, and for 52 years (1889-1941) organist of the Washington Prairie church, on July 11, 1961. Miss Koren said that she sometimes played the old chorales from an edition of Thomas Laub, a contemporary Danish organist who had made a historic study of the chorale and who advocated a return to its pristine form, and from H. C. Hölter's *Choralbuch*, published in St. Louis in 1886.

33. Jensen came to America in the first great wave of post-Civil War immigration. This was the beginning of the period that saw professionally trained people leaving Norway in increasing numbers. Prior to this time the preponderance of migrants had been rural people. Karen Larsen, *History*, pp. 430-431.

Cannon Falls, Minnesota. It is called Koralbog, indeholdende Melodier til alle Salmerne i Synodens, Landstads, Hauges og Guldbergs Salmebøger, samt til engelske Salmer i "Hymn Book," tilligemed 33 Altstemmer for Salmer og "Hymns" (Chicago) (Chorale Book, containing Melodies for all the hymns in the Synod, Landstad, Hauge and Guldberg Hymnals, together with English Hymns in "Hymn Book", along with 33 alto parts for Norwegian and English Hymns). The book contains two hundred twenty-nine melodies, soprano line only, in addition to the thirty-two alto lines.[34] Apland's principle source for the Norwegian tunes is Ludvig Lindeman, whose numeral method of notation he also follows.[35] He follows Lindeman's harmony (in his alto lines) and his rhythmic treatment of the melodies. He provides also for the English hymns in the book of 1879. Indexes in the back link tunes and texts. By matching the meter of tunes with texts Apland makes

[34] In his title Apland has "33" alto melodies, in his foreword he has simply "over 30." The author counted 32.

[35] Apland based his book on Lindeman's Melodierne til Landstads Salmebog, ordnede og udsatte i Siffre for Salmodikon (Christiania, 1872) (Melodies for Landstads Hymnal, arranged in numbers and adapted to the salmodikon).

his thirty-two alto melodies do for seventy-four Norwegian hymns and sixty-three English hymns. He reveals himself as an amateur in his handling of them. They are simply extracted from regular four-part harmonizations of the hymns. As a result there are awkward intervals which Apland could have avoided if he had realized that it is sometimes necessary to alter inner voices when they are taken out of their original context. He included the congregational responses and set them in four voices, intending them for the choir.

4. Lindeman's Koralbog (Minneapolis), 1899

In 1898 and 1899 five different chorale books and hymnals with music were published by the United Church and the Synod. It is a good example of the duplication of effort and unnecessary expenditure of resources that resulted from synodical and personality difficulties. The Synod was responsible for the appearance of Christian Hymns for Church, School and Home and Lutheran Hymnal for the Sunday School, both published in 1898, at different publishing houses. The United Church put out The Church and Sunday School Hymnal in 1898. These three will be discussed presently. The United Church also published an American edition of Lindeman's Koralbog of 1877 which was identical with the original, with the addition of some tunes for the supplement which the American church had added to Landstad's hymnal in 1893. Finally, in 1899 Jensen issued the sixth edition of his Koralbog, which included melodies for the Landstad supplement of 1893. This overabundance of musical publishing could easily have been reduced by two or even three volumes.

Not very much needs to be said regarding the Minneapolis edition of Lindeman. Its editor, Pastor Oluf Glasøe, had studied one year at Concordia Seminary when he joined the Anti-Missourians, whereupon he finished his training in their seminary in Northfield, Minnesota. At the time he worked on the chorale book he was teaching at the United Church Seminary.[36] He had some musical assistance in the project from P. H. P. Rydning, a graduate of the Lindeman conservatory in Oslo, who taught music and chant at the seminary from 1895 to 1907.[37]

Since it is an exact duplication of the original

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36. Norlie, Who's Who . . . , p. 180.

37. O. M. Norlie, School Calendar, 1824-1924 (Minneapolis, 1924), p. 619.

book, except for the forty-eight added tunes, it has all the strengths and weaknesses of the original. Glasøe did not attempt any alterations in Lindeman's arrangements, as Jensen had done. He issued the book in a different format so that it would be easier for singers to use. It has the shape of an ordinary large book rather than the long, ungainly shape typical of most chorale books and organ music. Glasøe also worked the tunes of the supplement into the body of the book where they fall in normal alphabetical order. Jensen left them in a supplement at the end.

For all practical purposes, however, the Minneapolis edition of Lindeman and Jensen were the same book. We have seen the extent to which Jensen borrowed from Lindeman's book when he first edited his chorale book in 1879. One fourth of the sixteen melodies he added in 1882 were Lindeman tunes. When Glasøe added forty-eight tunes to his edition of Lindeman he took thirty-seven of them from Jensen. The editions of the Sunday liturgy in the two books differ chiefly in that Jensen used Peter Lindeman's, in which the harmonization of the Kyrie is more chromatic than is Ludvig Lindeman's.

At the annual meeting in 1899 the publications committee said in their report, "The most significant and the most costly effort this year is without doubt the chorale book for the Salmebog for lutherske Kristne i Amerika. With the form, appearance and content which these Lindeman chorales and the supplemental tunes have, they will surely satisfy a long felt need among us..."[38]

That need might well have been satisfied by Erik Jensen if he had not acted imprudently in 1893, and thereafter persisted in pressing public charges against the president of the United Church for the latter's part in precipitating Jensen's departure from the parish. As it was, the new book, being the result of a synodical effort, had all the prestige and backing of the synod. This, in addition to its intrinsic worth, was undoubtedly a major factor in the final triumph of Lindeman's Koralbog in America. The effort of the Synod to produce a chorale book, stalled for a quarter of a century, also bore fruit. But it was too late. That story follows.

5. Rhytmisk Koralbog, 1904

We must now return to the year 1870 when the Synod published its new hymnal. Prominent on the committee that edited the hymnal were U. Vilhelm Koren and Nils Brandt. We have taken note above (pp. 25 and 40) of Koren's interest in music. Nils Brandt was also known for his love of music (see above, note 23, p. 128). In 1875 Brandt was teaching at Luther College, where, in addition to other subjects, he instructed in music, which at that time meant principally singing.[39] Soon after the hymnal was published the Synod began to think of publishing a chorale book. Publishing a book of music was a major undertaking and the Synod had no professional musicians to direct the project. A start was made, nevertheless, when Brandt was appointed chairman of the Chorale Book Committee in 1875.[40] The committee examined Lindeman's books of 1871-72 and reacted negatively to his treatment of the chorale.[41] Then, as noted above, they decided to enlist Hoff's aid in providing tunes for their hymnal and to wait for its publication before doing anything more. That is the last report that came from the Brandt committee. The reports of the Synod meetings for the years following the publication of Hoff's book (1878) contain no mention of the committee or of Hoff's Melodibog. Nor does Kirketidende, the official organ of the Synod--which was usually quite diligent about reviewing books of note--carry any mention of Hoff. The whole project seems to have been shelved.

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[38] Beretning om det tiende Aarsmøde for den Forenede norsk lutherske Kirke i Amerika (Minneapolis, 1899), p. 116. These beretning, which are the annual reports of the United Church, will hereafter be abbreviated to Beretning . . . Forenede Kirke . . .

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[39] J. C. K. Preus, The History of the Choral Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Minneapolis, 1960), p. 5.

[40] Beretning . . . Synoden . . . (LaCrosse, 1875), p. 128. Brandt was elected chairman at an informal gathering of Synod delegates held during the regular Synod meeting. The members of his committee are nowhere named. We have only the brief notice from the Report from the Synod meeting of 1876 to indicate that Erik Jensen probably was a member.

[41] See above, p. 103, note 104. The author has searched in vain for a clue to the writer of the letter which was sent to Norway regarding the Lindeman chorale book.

Two possible explanations for this present themselves. The first is that Hoff's book also proved to be disappointing when it finally appeared, but this would not explain the cessation of activity on the part of the committee. A second possibility, which does not exclude the first, is that the theological disputes--Nelson and Fevold call them "theological warfare"[42]--which engulfed the Synod about this time, and which waxed increasingly bitter through the 'eighties, shunted aside lesser issues such as providing a suitable chorale book for the Synod hymnal. The Brandt committee apparently was one of the casualties of the war. It was into the breach

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42. Nelson, op. cit., I, Chap. XII and Eugene L. Fevold, "The History of Norwegian-American Lutheranism, 1870-1890" (Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1951), Chap. V.

caused by the inconclusive termination of the Chorale Book Committee's assignment that Jensen stepped in 1879 with his Koralbog. But he did so with Ludvig Lindeman's tunes!

Before leaving the year 1875 it will be worthwhile to take one more look at the report of the meeting which elected Brandt to his assignment. A general discussion was held among the delegates who assembled on the subject of improving singing in the churches. O. A. Lindeman's chorale book was recommended for use pending the publication of Hoff's book. Ludvig Lindeman's book was not mentioned. Then there was general agreement on the necessity for organizing choirs to lead the singing of the hymns. It was also agreed that they should learn to sing in four parts and that the chorales should be in rhythmic form.[43] The results of this discussion were read into the official report of the Synod, so we see that by the year 1875 the Synod had adopted a more or less official attitude toward the rhythmic chorale.

For twenty-seven years the question of a chorale book lay dormant. During most of that time the Synod

43. Beretning, p. 129. In view of their meager choral resources at the time, the emphasis on four part singing is surprising, especially since all later references to the choir's part in the service emphasize the unison singing of the hymns. Perhaps experience instructed them in the interim.

busied itself with other matters. In the meantime, of course, the Synod congregations had to use what they could, which probably was mostly Ludvig Lindeman, whether in the form of his own book or of Jensen's. Those who relied on the salmodikon had two choices of books for their tunes--Lindeman's edition of 1874 or Ole Apland's of 1881, which was an enlarged version of Lindeman's. Some congregations, no doubt, used Hoff. To judge by the complaints about slow congregational singing still circulating at the turn of the century, many country congregations still were using O. A. Lindeman.[44] And then, of course, there was Henderson, both his regular chorale book and his adaptation for the salmodikon. It was possible also, in the case of a congregation whose pastor was an especially ardent advocate of the rhythmic chorale, to use one of the current German chorale books. To realize that it was possible actually to make use of this array of books, the twentieth century American churchgoer, who is used to singing from a hymnal containing both text and tune, has to put himself into the position of the man in the pew seventy-five years ago. He sang out of a book containing only a text. The only book of tunes in the church was the one the organist or precentor used. The singer did not care what book was used as long as he knew the tune. That the average member of the congregation was even aware that the Synod leaders thought he should be given different musical fare from that which he was getting is extremely doubtful. In fact, it is doubtful whether the average pastor was very much aware of it. In any case, during the years between 1875 and 1902 the Synod viewpoint regarding the chorale steadily lost ground. Lindeman occupied the field and there is little reason to believe that the peculiar hold which his own happy, Grundtvigian tunes took on the people in Norway failed of the same result in the States.[45] When

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[44] See, for example, Dahle, in Kirketidende (March, 1906), p. 339, where he talks about the sluggish tempo of singing.

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[45] John Dahle, writing in *Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende* (June, 1890), p. 5 says in a biographical sketch of Lindeman that his "glorious hymn tunes" have made his name known and loved, in America as much as in Norway. Among those sung most he names *Den store hvide Flok*,"Behold a Host!" (This would be Lindeman's tune, not the folk tune, which is better known today.), *Kjaerlighed er Lysets Kilde*, "Love the Fount of Light from Heaven," *Op, thi Dagen nu frembryder* "Wake, the welcome day appeareth," *Saligheden er os naer* (not used in English), *Hvor salig er den lille Flok* "How Blessed is the little Flock," *Her vil ties* (sung in English to "Easter Morrow stills our Sorrow"), *Gud skal al Ting Mage* (sung in English to "Jesus, Priceless Treasure") and *Kirken den er et gammelt Hus* (Built on the Rock).

Oluf Glasøe edited Lindeman's chorale book in 1899 he took pains to provide tunes for the Synod hymnal too. This was done for the sake of the United Church congregations which used the Synod hymnal, but of course this made Lindeman more usable for Synod congregations as well.[46]

In 1894 Vilhelm Koren took office as the president of the Norwegian Synod. During his sixteen years in that office a great deal of musical and liturgical activity took place. It would be overstating the case to say that he was responsible for all of it. The times demanded that an English hymnal be published. Two of them came out in 1898. The new liturgy of 1889, with its new musical settings, called for action on the part of the American church. It was adopted in 1899. But the fact that the synod president was by nature interested in musical matters of itself brought such matters to the fore. In 1896 the Synod passed a resolution that called for more emphasis at the seminary on congregational singing. Specifically, lectures "by qualified men"

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46. In a lecture to a Synod pastoral conference, ca. 1905, Pastor D. G. Ristad, speaking in behalf of propagating the rhythmic chorale, complained of having to overcome the objections of teachers and precentors to whom "Lindeman and Jensen had become so dear they could not let them go." An unpublished, undated lecture among the Ristad papers in the archives of the Norwegian-American Historical Association (Northfield, Minnesota).

should be held at intervals. In addition, pastors were urged to see that congregations and schools received instruction in the singing of hymns.[47] The 1896 synodical gathering heard a long lecture by Pastor M. Fr. Wiese and a shorter one by Pastor Nils Førde on the corporate nature of church singing.[48] In 1902 a revision of the hymnal was carried out by a committee headed by Wiese.[49] In 1903 the Synod celebrated its fiftieth anniversary and during the festive event the Choral Union was born--the American sacred version of the Norwegian sangerfest.[50]

Koren's early attachment to Johan Behrens, which began with his inclusion in Behrens' first quartet, developed into a life-long friendship. Even fifty-one years after her father's death, Marie Koren recalled the Behrens name immediately as that of her father's "great friend."[51] The affection and admiration that Koren had for Behrens goes far to explain Koren's interest in the

[47] Beretning . . . Synoden . . . (Decorah, 1896), p. 95.

[48] "Kirkesangen som en Samfundssag", ibid, pp. 55-79.

[49] Beretning . . . Synoden . . . (Decorah, 1902), p. 17.

[50] J. C. K. Preus, op. cit., p. 9. The director for this event was John Dahle.

[51] Conversation of July 11, 1961.

rhythmic chorale. Undoubtedly he owned Behrens' books on the subject.[52] When one thinks back to the exchanges, sometimes sarcastic, which took place between Lindeman and Behrens over the form of the chorale, one also understands Koren's antipathy toward Lindeman's chorale book. "We used the chorale books of Jensen and Laub and H. F. Hölter at Washington Prairie," said Miss Koren, "but never Lindeman."[53] Koren had been equally adamant in the 'sixties about excluding from the new hymnal all Grundtvig's hymns because of Grundtvig's suspect theology. "Not even Grundtvig's non-Grundtvigian hymns could get into the new hymnal."[54] Consequently, not until 1903, when the revised Synod hymnal for the first time included Grundtvig's Kirken den er et gammelt Hus did users of that hymnal have the opportunity to sing the noblest of all of Lindeman's tunes with the text to which he had set the

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52. In November, 1872, a fire razed the Koren house. This might account for the fact that the author was unable to find any of Behrens' books among Koren's private volumes, housed in the Koren Library (named for him) at Luther College.

53. Conversation of July 11, 1961.

54. A conversation between Marie Koren and Gerhard Belgum in June, 1955, quoted in Gerhard Belgum, "The Old Norwegian Synod in America, 1853-1890" (Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1957), p. 254. There is a copy in the Koren Library.

tune in 1840.[55] Koren was a man of strongly held opinions and at times he could become dictatorial in order to carry out what he believed to be right.[56] It was Koren who was the moving spirit back of the publication of the Rhytmisk Koralbog.

The matter was not taken up for debate in the synodical meetings. A brief note in the president's report of 1902 gives the information that the Church Council authorized a committee to start work on a chorale book in rhythmic form.[57] One year later there was an equally laconic report to the effect that the book was on the press and would be ready in August.[58] In the interim Koren had assembled a committee which consisted of himself, his daughter Marie and Pastors J. W. Preus, M. Fr. Wiese, A. K. Sagen and Rasmus Malmin.[59] Preus, Wiese and Sagen were all graduates of Concordia Seminary in

[55] Significantly, it was taken into immediate use, being given a prominent place on the program of otherwise rhythmic chorales which the Choral Union sang in 1903. See Jubilate IX, eds. John Dahle and G. B. Wollan (May, 1903).

[56] Belgum, loc. cit.

[57] Beretning . . . Synoden . . . (Decorah, 1902), p. 17.

[58] Beretning . . . Synoden . . . (Decorah, 1903), p. 32. Although the Foreword to Rhytmisk Koralbog was signed in August, 1903, the publication date is given as 1904.

[59] Conversation of July 11, 1961. O. M. Norlie, in

St. Louis, where followers of Fridrich Layriz, such as H. F. Hölter and Karl Brauer, were advocating a return to the original chorale form.[60] In addition, Wiese, who was a Dane, had become acquainted with Thomas Laub. He carried on a correspondence with him regarding the chorale book, with the result that Laub emerged as the dominant single contributor to the book.

The foreword to the book, approximately half of which was composed by Koren, has a polemical overtone which hints at the fact that the introduction of the rhythmic chorale was not unopposed. "...It will perhaps be said in many places that the melodies in this form are unsingable because they are so difficult that the congregations cannot learn them. But what has been done elsewhere, e.g., in Germany, Denmark and America, can

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59. (cont.) Who's Who . . ., lists Preus, Wiese and Malmin as members of the committee but does not include Sagen or Koren. Marie Koren, however, included both. That Koren was not only a member but a decisive one is shown below. In omitting Sagen Norlie is probably at fault, as he is when he includes Sagen as a member of the committee which published Christian Hymns--which he was not.

[60] Layriz' standard-setting publication was Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs (Noerdlingen, 1844), with subsequent enlarged editions in 1849 and 1854. Hölter, following Layriz' pattern, published a Choralbuch in 1886, Brauer in 1888, both in St. Louis.

certainly be done also among us, provided one does not begin with a negative attitude and the preconceived idea that 'it just won't work.' We have experienced that when one has sung the melodies a few times in this form he will like them and will realize that he never before knew how much was contained in these old hymn tunes."[61]

In his original draft of the foreword, Koren reveals his hand at two points where he makes direct references to his own part in the undertaking. In one place he has "the undersigned," in another "I decided." In the printed version, these were changed to read "the synod's president" and "it was decided."[62] The book, he said, was not to contain anything new or original, "Since there was no one among us...who had the necessary musical and historical qualifications to work out a new, independent book, it was decided...to investigate as far as possible what had

61. The fact that the advocates of the rhythmic chorale did not always have smooth sailing is further substantiated by the Ristad lecture, mentioned above. He says, " . . . The reasons for our doing this [i.e., publishing a book of chorales in rhythmic form] have been so often presented, attacked and defended that we can count them on our fingers . . . " This probably accounts for the fact that the final decision to proceed with the book came from the church council, not the general body.

62. The author discovered this draft in a file of undated papers among the Koren papers in the archives of the Koren Library.

already been done by competent people in other Lutheran churches and to make the best possible choices from these books."[63] In an undated letter to John Dahle later Koren revealed the committee's method of procedure: "We compared what we found in eight collections and chose what seemed best to us."[64] The foreword also reveals the committee's preoccupation with the rhythmic form of the chorale. We read, "Most of the melodies are given in the form in which we know them, except for the rhythm. A couple, which could not be found in rhythmic form have been given a rhythmic form by the committee."[65] This was quite a bold step for a committee which was not possessed of "the necessary musical and historical qualifications."

It illustrates the extent to which the members of the committee thought that improving singing in the churches depended upon giving the people hymns with

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63. The main compilers and musicians whose books were used were Joh. Zahn, Thos. Laub, L. M. Lindeman, Erik Hoff, H. F. Hölter, H. G. Herzog.

64. Koren papers. Marie Koren explained to the writer that the committee met informally, usually in a home, and she would play the tunes as they were discussed.

65. There are six to be exact, five from Lindeman and one from Hoff. However, all are arrangements of older chorales.

rhythmic variety. Regarding the tempo of the hymns the foreword says that this is something which must be determined by the character and contents of each particular hymn. The rest of the foreword is not of significance here.[66] It is signed by Marie Koren.[67]

The book is divided into three sections. The first section contains the Sunday and ordination liturgy. The second section contains the tunes. There are one hundred fifty-seven titles, some of which have two melodies. The last twenty-one are English. The third section of the book contains thirty-four numbers for choir which include Bach chorales, a Palestrina motet and other choral items of mixed worth. One is impressed by the overall quality of the contents. It bears witness to the standards of taste of which the members of the committee were possessed. It is a witness also to the quality of their source books. Considering their mode of operation, it is remarkable that they did not commit

66. It appears in facsimile and in an English translation by the author in Appendix A, p. 342 .

67. She told the author that her name appears there because her father had said someone's name should, "so they put mine down." Conversation of July 11, 1961.

more errors of judgment than they did. They did make some mistakes.

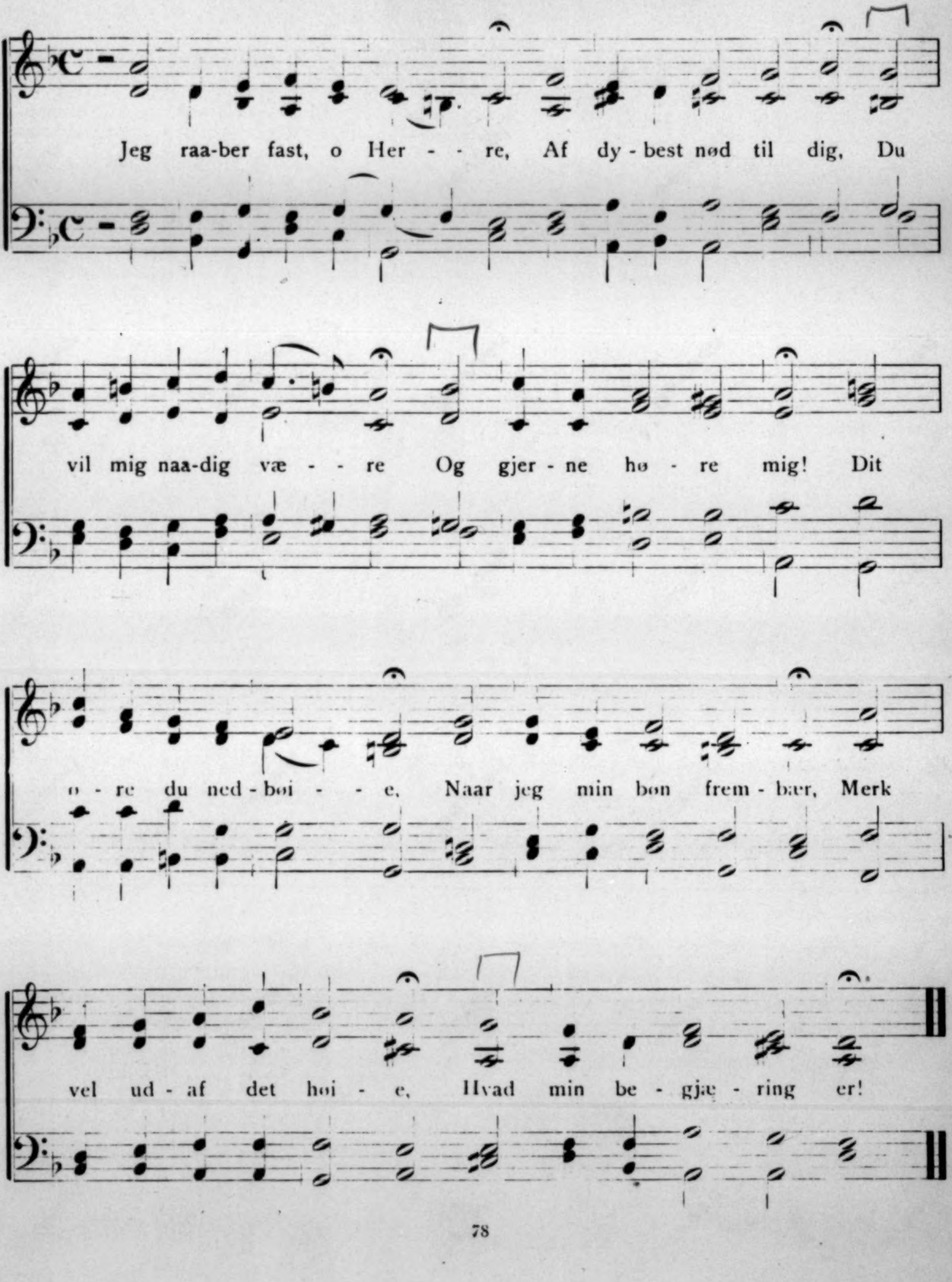
The arrangements by Henrich Gunnersen sound out of place beside Laub, Zahn and others. Although the committee had the good sense not to change rhythms in Lindeman's original compositions, they did not realize how close the bond is between the rhythm and harmony of his arrangements of other chorales. His harmonies progress smoothly and logically only if his rhythms are kept intact. Harmony and rhythm proceed and pause in accord. When the rhythm is altered, the harmony often sounds awkward. The particular sophistication of nineteenth century harmony does not complement the irregular rhythms of the older chorale form. Thus, for example, active chords, such as the seventh chord--of which Lindeman was particularly fond--must be used sparingly in the older chorale form.[68] The setting of the Kyrie in the service is that of Peter Lindeman. As pointed out earlier, it is extremely chromatic. Used here, it is out of character with the rest of the book. In all these areas the committee would

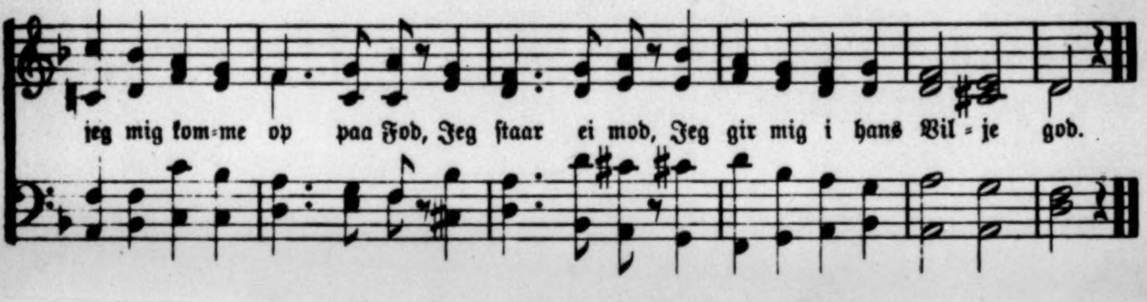
[68] No. 55a is an example of a Lindeman harmonization, rhythmically altered, in which seventh chords stand out markedly in three places. This same mistake had been made earlier--in Christian Hymns. This will be discussed below. (See Plate XVI)

PLATE XVI

Rhytmisk Koralbog, 1904

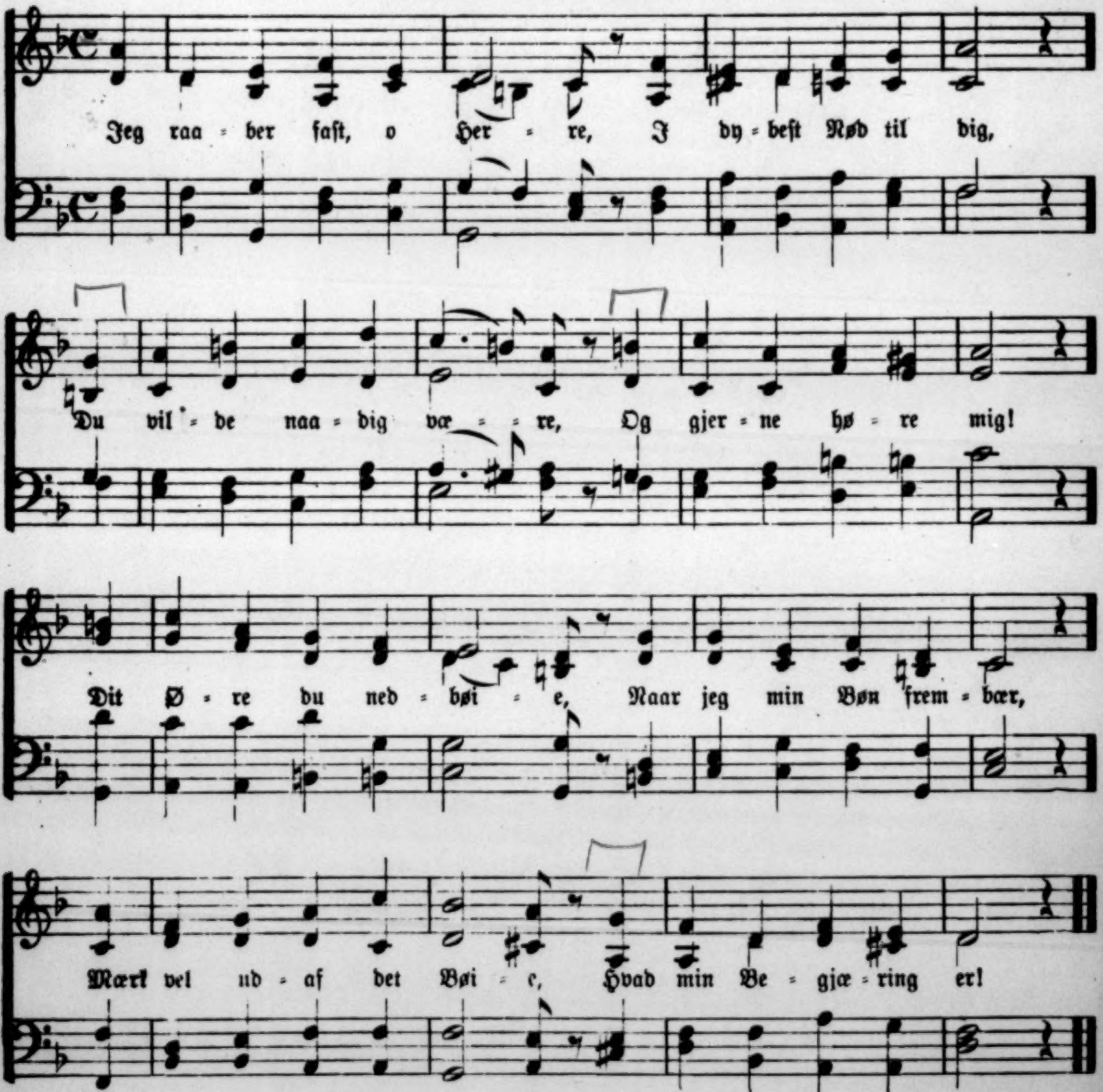
Nr. 55. a Jeg raaber fast, o Herre.


Jeg raa-ber fast, o Her - - re, Af dy - best nød til dig, Du
vil mig naa-dig væ - - re Og gjer - ne hø - re mig! Dit
ø - re du ned - bøi - - e, Naar jeg min bøn frem - bær, Merk
vel ud - af det høi - e, Hvad min be - gjæ - ring er!


jeg mig kom-me op paa Fod, Jeg ſtaar ei mod, Jeg gir mig i hans Vil-je god.

No. 73. Jeg raaber faſt, o Herre.

Salme 191, 167, 196, 425, 517, 666.


Jeg raa - ber faſt, o Her - re, I dy - beſt Nød til dig,
Du vil - de naa - dig væ - re, Og gjer - ne hø - re mig!
Dit Ø - re du ned - bøi - e, Naar jeg min Bøn frem - bær,
Mærk vel ud - af det Høi - e, Hvad min Be - gjæ - ring er!

have been well served if there had been a musician with them. The situation was not without its irony, for such a man did exist in their midst, and he pointed up the deficiencies in the book in a series of articles in Kirketidende in 1906.[69] The man was John Dahle.

In view of his position as the Synod's leading musician at this time, he should have been a member of the committee. But Koren did not think he would be sympathetic to his and the committee's point of view. In 1904 he wrote a letter to Dr. J. T. Ylvisaker at Luther Seminary in which he explained that he did not want to include Dahle because he was afraid that as the only professional musician on the committee Dahle would create an unbalance that would jeopardize their work. Furthermore, he did not think Dahle, who was used to composing and arranging works for his own publications, would agree with their decision to borrow the best of what they could find and not make any changes.[70] If Dahle was piqued at being excluded from this committee, his

69. "Hvorledes vore koraler bør synges." (How our chorales ought to be sung), pp. 339-343, 427-430, 455-458, 537-541, 707-710. In the articles Dahle also discusses various types of hymns and the tempo at which they should be sung.

70. Koren papers.

subsequent actions and words do not show it. He cooperated in printing a selection of the chorales in his choir publication, Jubilate, so they could be rehearsed and sung at the 1903 anniversary celebration. This was before the chorale book was off the press. And in the articles mentioned, in addition to the criticisms he made of the book, he also came out in favor of the rhythmic form of the chorale where he thought it best used. On the whole, his thoughtful critique of both the Lindeman Koralbog and the Rhytmisk Koralbog characterize Dahle as a man of balanced judgment. Koren was probably right. Dahle's presence on the committee would have made the other members uncomfortable, but, by way of compensation, the book would quite certainly have emerged with a greater degree of consistency.

One physical feature of the book is worth mentioning. That is the judicious use of bar lines to conform to the rhythmic demands of the music rather than to impose arbitrary metrical patterns on it. Lindeman was bound by metrical patterns. He thought in metrical terms. That is why he could not appreciate the early composers. His Melodier til Martin Luthers aandelige Sange (1859) abounds with syncopated patterns which resulted when he forced alternating duple and triple rhythms into duple measures. Most of his chorale arrangements are in duple meter. A few are in triple. But none are in alternating duple and triple meter. The rhythmic chorale book strikes a fresh note in this respect. There is a good deal of variation. It is as though the tunes with free rhythms, where few bar lines are used, have been released to set their own natural patterns.[71] This represented a breaking out of the traditional mold, and without doubt caused many an older organist and precentor to shake his head and turn back to Lindeman.

Thomas Laub was to be thanked for making this innovation among the Norwegians. Unfortunately, it remained just an innovation, for ten years later The Lutheran Hymnary appeared with the customary metrical grid and frequent bar lines. Laub was also to be thanked for fifty-four, or more than one third, of the chorale arrangements in the book.

Koren was eager now to get the book into widespread use. In his letter to Dahle he urged Dahle to print the rhythmic chorales in Jubilate for the purpose of advertising them. His principal reason for writing

[71] Examples of both good and bad uses of bar lines are shown in Plate XVII, p.230 , in connection with the discussion of the Lutheran Hymnal for the Sunday School.

to Ylvisaker was to ask him to impress on Dahle, who was the instructor in music at the Synod seminary, the necessity for making wide use of the new chorale book in his work with the students. The advocates of the rhythmic chorale were eager salesmen for the book, but they were to be found mostly among the clergy, and there were not too many of them. D. G. Ristad was one. In his lecture to the pastors he said, "The conviction that the rhythmic form of the chorale is historically correct and natural and appropriate is probably so strong in our group now that there will not be any attempt in our day at least to publish hymn tunes for the service in Norwegian or English, except in rhythmic form." The words sound hollow today, for just a few years after Ristad spoke, the Hymnary appeared, and in that book the rhythmic chorale took a sound beating. True, some rhythmic settings appeared. The foreword to the book says twenty were used. Four of these were tucked safely away in a supplement at the back of the book. A fifth and sixth appeared as alternate tunes. The issue of the rhythmic chorale was, to all practical purposes, as effectively dealt with in America as it had been in Norway. The main chorale heritage continued to appear in the same, even quarter notes that Lindeman used. The Synod effort had almost been in vain.[72]

Would the picture have been different if the Synod could have proceeded after 1875 to produce a chorale book based on a sound repristination of the chorale form? The Synod was a powerful organization then, and with outside help they may have been able to edit and publish a book which would have satisfied the wishes of those who looked to the rhythmic chorale to cure the ills of congregational singing. To publish the book would have been one matter. But it would have been an entirely different matter to induce the people to sing the chorales this way. The congregations were made up of people who came from Norway where the rhythmic chorale was not sung. Increasingly, after 1872, those who came from Norway had become accustomed to singing Ludvig Lindeman's tunes. Any attempt to impose the rhythmic form of singing on these immigrants as they kept coming over would surely have been an uphill struggle. Then, too, the other synods would probably not have adopted a book of chorales published by the Synod in these years.

The day of the rhythmic chorale had not yet dawned.

72. When asked by the author if the rhythmic chorale book had been widely used, Marie Koren said she thought that most of the Synod pastors simply ignored it. Conversation of July 11, 1961.

The Synod efforts of 1898 and 1904 performed one service to the Norwegians, however. They recalled an aspect of the Lutheran heritage which had been lost to sight for generations and which Ludvig Lindeman, with his genial tunes and isorhythmic chorales, only obscured still further. No matter how elusive a thing the "original" form of the chorale becomes when one tries to discover just which of the "original" forms is authentic, the fact is that in the period in which it blossomed the chorale was a genuine folk art form which at the same time had a certain native sophistication which, far from being merely "a product of the childhood of the art," as Lindeman characterized it, was a self-conscious, independent musical expression. The Lutheran church today would do well to try to understand and repossess it for its contemporary musical expression.

6. Lutheran Hymnal for the Sunday School, 1898

We must backtrack a few years to document the beginnings of the English hymnals with music.

The education of the youth presented the Norwegian immigrants with a difficult problem. In Norway the educational system encompassed the teaching of such things as religion and music in the same schools in which all other subjects were taught. In America, on the other hand, this was not the case. No religion was taught in the common school, and in the early schools no music either. In Norway the church had depended on the school to teach the hymns to the children. In America the church had to make shift in some other way. One solution to the problem lay in establishing and maintaining a parochial school system. The Norwegian Synod tried to do this but failed in the long run because most of the immigrants wanted their children to attend the public school and become integrated into the American society. The other solution was to make use of the public school and relegate religious instruction to special schools, chiefly the Sunday school and part time religious, or parochial, schools. Education in the music of the church then devolved upon these schools. For a long time the language in these schools, as well as in church, was Norwegian. Consequently, the standard musical materials were the familiar Norwegian ones. But eventually the transition to English had to be made in order to keep the young people from leaving the church.

Most of the pastors who had any musical sensitivity were appalled by the music they heard in the American churches around them--"Reformed Tralala," Erik Jensen called it[73]--and they did not want their young people to substitute this for their own musical heritage. Even as lackluster as that heritage had become, they still recognized its essential worth. The first person to put together an English hymnal for youth, which incorporated both text and music, was Pastor Ditlef G. Ristad. The book was the Lutheran Hymnal for the Sunday School, published in Chicago in 1898.

Ristad was a seminarist, who had taught in Norway before coming to the States in 1887. He studied at Luther Seminary and the University of Chicago before taking a parish in southern Wisconsin.[74] In the parish he quickly evinced his interest in music. His congregations were among the first to begin using the new liturgy of 1889, and in 1895 the church notices of Kirketidende carried a brief report to the effect that several choirs in the Beloit-Stoughton area had combined under his leadership to present Mendelssohn's oratorio, St. Paul.[75] When he became a proponent of the rhythmic chorale is difficult

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73. Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende (July, 1890), p. 7.

74. Norlie, Who's Who . . . , p. 483.

75. (April), p. 267.

to say, but an ardent one he became, as evidenced by the lecture which has been quoted above and by this hymnal, of which one of the salient features is the rhythmic settings of the chorales. Ristad was not alone in compiling the book, although his name is the only one which appears in it. According to a reference in the Synod report for 1896, Pastors O. E. Brandt and A. O. Johnson also worked with Ristad.[76] Brandt was a son of the pioneer pastor Nils Brandt. He had received his theological training at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. According to the report the book was ready in 1896. However, it did not appear until two years later. It was not commissioned by the Synod.

The book reveals the hand of the amateur. There is no foreword. A few suggestions regarding the proper singing of the rhythmic melodies lead up to a brief opening service for the Sunday School. The only sung portion, in addition to the hymns, is the Gloria Patri, which comes after the Creed rather than in the traditional place following the Psalm. There are ninety-nine English hymns and twenty-five Norwegian. Some of the melodies are used for more than one hymn. However, where this happens the texts are on the same page as the melody,

[76] Beretning . . .Synoden . . . (Decorah, 1896), p. 95.

except for the Norwegian texts which are all in a supplement at the back and only four of which are accompanied by melodies. There does not appear to be any pattern in the organization of the hymns. They are not in alphabetical order, like the standard chorale books. Nor are they arranged by either church year or subject matter. There is only one index and that is alphabetical. Sources for text and tune are given with each hymn.

The music was taken from various sources and undoubtedly incorporated directly into this book without any editing. This shows up not only in the differing harmonizations of the chorales but also in the use of meter and bar line. "O Morning Star" (No. 21), for example, uses no time signature, and bar lines are used simply to divide the tune into its logical phrases. "Lord Jesus Christ, be Present Now" (No. 22), on the other hand, has a superimposed 4/4 meter which cuts arbitrarily into the musical and textual phrases creating syncopation and misplaced accents.* The preponderance of the hymns are from the Lutheran heritage. Lindeman is conspicuous by his near total absence. He is represented by five tunes, of which two are in the Norwegian section.

That this book had a wide circulation is questionable. Like the other efforts on the part of the Synod

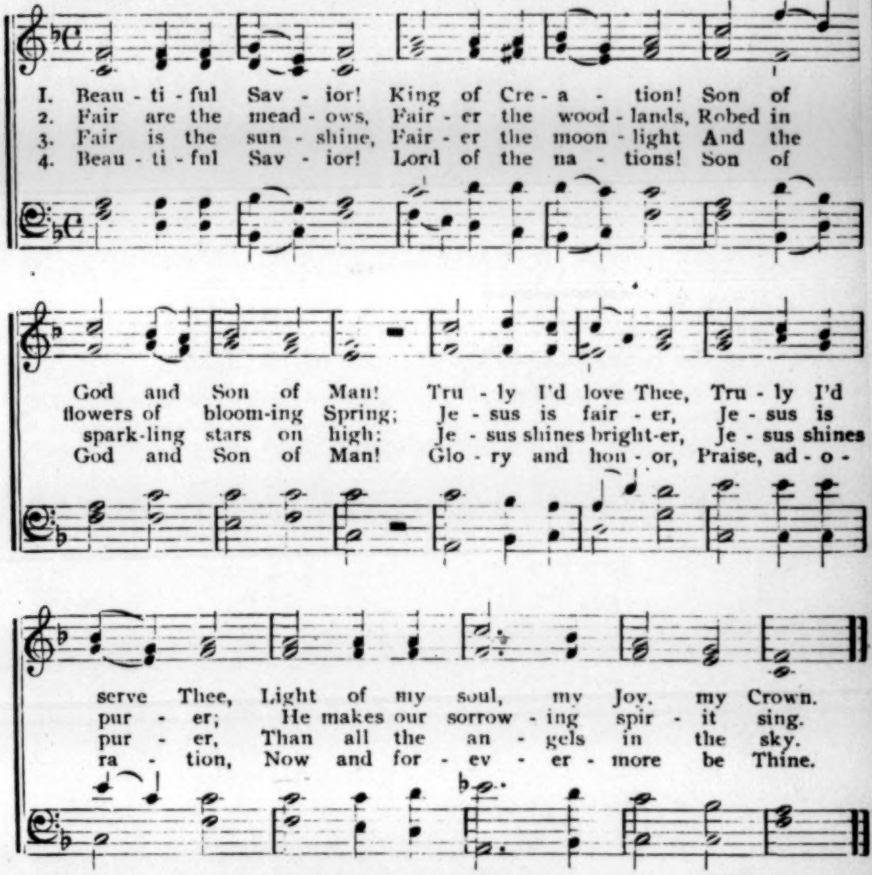
*See Plate XVII

PLATE XVII

Lutheran Hymnal for the Sunday School

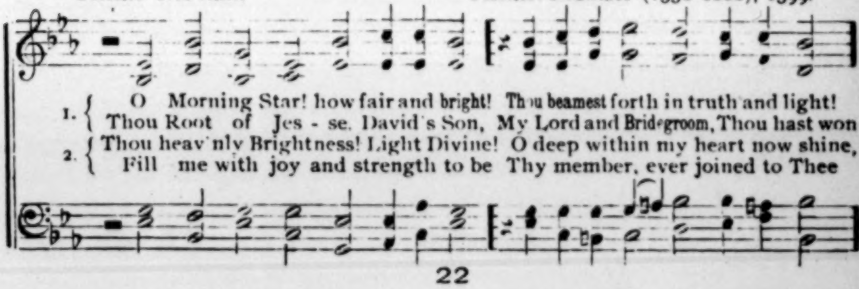
20 Beautiful Savior!

From the German. 1695. HOFMANN & FALLERSLEBEN, 1842.


1. Beau - ti - ful Sav - ior! King of Cre - a - tion! Son of
2. Fair are the mead - ows, Fair - er the wood - lands, Robed in
3. Fair is the sun - shine, Fair - er the moon - light And the
4. Beau - ti - ful Sav - ior! Lord of the na - tions! Son of
God and Son of Man! Tru - ly I'd love Thee, Tru - ly I'd
flowers of bloom-ing Spring; Je - sus is fair - er, Je - sus is
spark-ling stars on high: Je - sus shines bright-er, Je - sus shines
God and Son of Man! Glo - ry and hon - or, Praise, ad - o -
serve Thee, Light of my soul, my Joy, my Crown.
pur - er; He makes our sorrow - ing spir - it sing.
pur - er, Than all the an - gels in the sky.
ra - tion, Now and for - ev - er - more be Thine.

21 O Morning Star!

PHILIP NICOLAI. PHILIP NICOLAI (1556-1608), 1599.

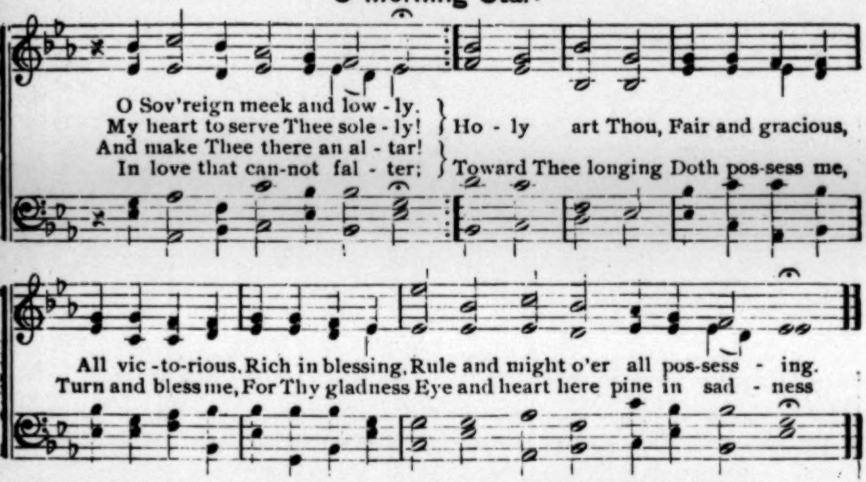

1. { O Morning Star! how fair and bright! Thou beamest forth in truth and light!
{ Thou Root of Jes - se, David's Son, My Lord and Bridegroom, Thou hast won
2. { Thou heav'nly Brightness! Light Divine! O deep within my heart now shine,
{ Fill me with joy and strength to be Thy member, ever joined to Thee

230a
Plate XVII

230-a

PLATE XVII

O Morning Star.

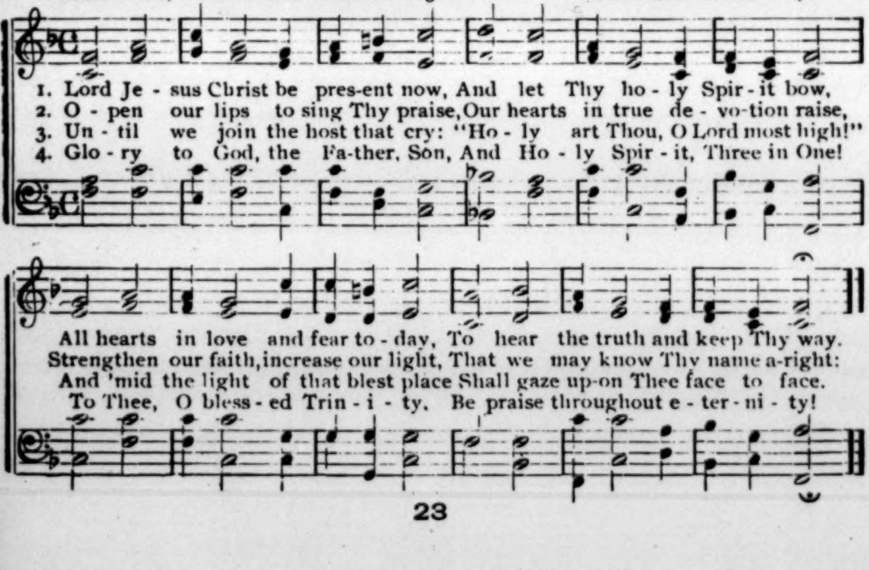

O Sov'reign meek and low - ly.
My heart to serve Thee sole - ly!
And make Thee there an al - tar!
In love that can-not fal - ter;
Ho - ly art Thou, Fair and gracious,
Toward Thee longing Doth pos-sess me,
All vic-to-rious. Rich in blessing, Rule and might o'er all pos-sess - ing.
Turn and bless me, For Thy gladness Eye and heart here pine in sad - ness

3 But if Thou look on me in love,
There straightway falls from God above
A ray of purest pleasure;
Thy Word and Spirit, Flesh and Blood,
Refresh my soul with heavenly food,
Thou art my hidden treasure;
Let Thy grace, Lord, warm and cheer me,
O draw near me;
Thou hast taught us
Thee to seek since Thou hast sought us!

4 Here will I rest, and hold it fast,
The Lord I love is First and Last,
The End as the Beginning!
Here I can calmly die, for Thou
Wilt raise me where Thou dwellest now,
Above all tears, all sinning:
Amen! Amen! Come, Lord Jesus,
Soon release us;
With deep yearning,
Lord, we look for Thy returning.

22 Lord Jesus Christ, Be Present Now.

WILLIAM II., Duke of Sax-Weimar. 1638. Cant. Sac. Gotha 1648.


1. Lord Je - sus Christ be pres-ent now, And let Thy ho - ly Spir - it bow,
2. O - pen our lips to sing Thy praise, Our hearts in true de - vo-tion raise,
3. Un - til we join the host that cry: "Ho - ly art Thou, O Lord most high!"
4. Glo - ry to God, the Fa-ther, Son, And Ho - ly Spir - it, Three in One!
All hearts in love and fear to - day, To hear the truth and keep Thy way.
Strengthen our faith, increase our light, That we may know Thy name a-right:
And 'mid the light of that blest place Shall gaze up-on Thee face to face.
To Thee, O bless - ed Trin - i - ty, Be praise throughout e - ter - ni - ty!

to popularize the rhythmic chorale, it was out of step with the march of events among the Norwegian-Americans. Whether they wanted to or not the proponents of the rhythmic chorale had to reckon with Ludvig Lindeman and the isorhythmic chorale. It was hardly to be expected that the children would sing the chorale in rhythmic form in the Sunday school and transfer to the prevailing isorhythmic form when they went to church. The shortcomings of the book are outweighed, however, by its overall worth. There are enough hymns in it, aside from the probably troublesome rhythmic chorales, to have made it a useful first hymnal in the campaign to raise the singing of hymns in English to a worthy plane. And the book launched its chief editor, Ristad, on a career of translating hymns that made him a valuable asset during the difficult period when the church was neither truly Norwegian nor fully American.[77]

7. The English Hymnals of 1898

In no other year was the price of disunity among the Norwegian-Americans more clearly underscored than in 1898 when two English hymnals appeared among them--in addition to Ristad's. Both were the result of major editing and publishing efforts. The Synod issued Christian Hymns for Church, School and Home (Decorah) and the United Church issued The Church and Sunday School Hymnal (Minneapolis). Both books contained music, integrated with the texts. Separated by doctrinal disputes in most other areas, the Synod and the United Church found themselves uncompromisingly divided over a musical issue when they sought to cooperate on a joint hymnal in English. As we would expect now, the issue at stake was what form the chorale should take. Not until the last major effort to introduce the rhythmic chorale into the Norwegian Lutheran church--the Rhytmisk Koralbog, in which the title itself, like a battle standard, rallied its friends and challenged its foes--not until that book was published and largely failed of its goal, did the Synod champions of the rhythmic chorale give up the cause. By that time, some of its staunchest promoters were aging--Koren and Wiese; one was dead--Sagen, in 1907. Other supporters, such as Ristad, Smeby and Dahle, who championed it in the joint discussions for the 1913 Hymnary were outnumbered by delegates from other synods which included such powerful new voices as those of F. Melius Christiansen, Carl A. Mellby and K. C. Holter. Also, since 1883, when the Synod formally cut its ties with the Missouri Synod, fewer and fewer of its men went to St. Louis for their theological training, with the result that the younger clergy in the Synod were not exposed to the practical use of the rhythmic chorale as the older generation of pastors had been. For the younger men, it was largely an academic question which had little relevance to the burgeoning demand for usable hymn books.

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[77] He later served on the committees for both The Lutheran Hymnary and The Lutheran Hymnary, Junior (Minneapolis, 1916).

The United Church began its work on a hymnal in 1894 with a committee of three men. They were Pastors O. G. Belsheim, E. G. Lund and Gerhard Rasmussen. Belsheim had attended Northfield and Augsburg seminaries. Lund received his theological training at Mt. Airy Seminary in Philadelphia, and spent his ministry within the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. For a period of thirteen years, from 1891 to 1904, he taught at the United Church Seminary. During this period he served on the English hymnal committee and translated the Norwegian altar book, including the service, into English. The third member of the committee, Gerhard Rasmussen, was the son of the pioneer pastor, P. A. Rasmussen, who had worked on the committee for the Synod hymnal in the 'sixties. The younger Rasmussen had received his theological degree from Capital Seminary.[78]

The committee's task was to investigate English Lutheran Sunday School hymnals and other books which had been published by other Lutheran bodies in order to determine whether or not some of them could satisfy the needs of the United Church. After having done this they brought a report to the annual meeting of the church in 1896, and recommended that the United Church publish its own hymnal. The synod accepted the report and instructed the committee to proceed as follows: 1) gather and use already translated Lutheran hymns, arrange for the translation of the well known Norwegian hymns, choose the well known and loved English hymns, and 2) work in cooperation with the Norwegian Synod English hymnal committee.[79] So far the United Church story. Now for the Synod story.

The Synod committee had been set up at the district meetings of the Synod in 1895. Following were the members chosen: Nils Førde, Adolf Bredesen, O. H. Smeby and Karl A. Kasberg. The first three were pastors, and all had

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78. The biographical data is from Norlie, Who's Who . . ., as follows: Belsheim, p. 43, Lund, p. 356 and Rasmussen, p. 472.

79. Beretning . . . Forenede Kirke . . . (Minneapolis, 1898), pp. 237-238.

received their training in St. Louis. Kasberg, who was later ordained, was at this time the president of Stoughton Academy, a Synod school.[80] He was an organist, and to him fell the lot of editing the music for the hymnal. The committee's assignment was to work out a hymnal in conjunction with the Epiphany Conference, a German Lutheran body.[81] In 1896, without having had any joint meetings with the Germans, they learned from them that they were prevented from continuing with their plans to work on the hymnal. So the Norwegians proceeded on their own.[82] Not having accomplished very much by the time of the meeting in 1896, they made no report.

At this point the United committee, obeying its mandate, approached the Synod committee to ask them to consider a cooperative effort on a joint hymnal. The latter agreed on their own authority to hold joint meetings and assemble the texts for the hymnal. Rasmussen, reporting later for the United committee, said that they progressed "beyond expectation."[83] Both committees then agreed on a joint resolution to be presented to their

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80. Norlie, Who's Who . . .: Forde, p. 160, Bredesen, p. 79, Smeby, p. 536 and Kasberg, p. 302.

81. Beretning . . . Synoden . . . (Decorah, 1895), p. 120 and Beretning . . . i Iowa District (bound in same volume), p. 61.

82. Kirketidende (October, 1896), p. 676.

83. Beretning . . . Forenede Kirke . . . (Minneapolis, 1897), p. 204.

respective synods. It contained several points, of which the chief was to continue the joint meetings with a view toward publishing a joint hymnal--provided that agreement could be reached on the music, as well as other aspects of the book. The United Church adopted the resolution without any ado. They also added a fourth man to the committee, Oluf Glasøe.[84] In the Synod, the Iowa district passed it. But the Eastern district rejected it, substituting a resolution to the effect that the Synod should publish its own English hymnal. However, a final decision should be up to the Church Council.[85] It is not recorded what action, if any, the Council took.

Apparently the two committees continued to meet together for awhile. The account is not specific at this point, but the possibility is lent support by the fact that the resolution with which the Synod committee terminated the joint enterprise makes no mention whatever of the Synod action. That resolution was handed to the United committee some time in the summer or fall of 1897 and read as follows: "Since it has become evident that the committees differ in their understanding of church

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84. Beretning . . . Forenede Kirke . . . (Minneapolis, 1897), p. 204.

85. Beretning . . . Synoden . . . Anden Del (Decorah, 1897), p. 48.

music; and since in such a matter it is indefensible to compromise and disagreeable to oppose; and since by working jointly the publication of the hymnal will be delayed, with the added possibility that it will not please either party; and finally, since we have no instructions to work on a joint venture, but have done it on our own--we feel that the enterprise will be best served if the committees go their separate ways."[86] This effectively scuttled the joint hymnal. The following year the two hymnals came out.

In appearance and size they are similar--about the size of an American hymnal but only half as thick. Each has slightly more than three hundred hymns, but the Synod hymnal has only about half as many tunes, almost each one being called on to do double duty. Qualitatively, the music in the Synod hymnal is superior because it maintains a consistently high standard. Hardly once does it slip into what might be termed the popular vein, although it does include such standard fare as "Rock of Ages" and "Nearer My God to Thee." Its most serious shortcoming is the use of Lindeman's harmonizations with the rhythmic form of the melody. As pointed out earlier,

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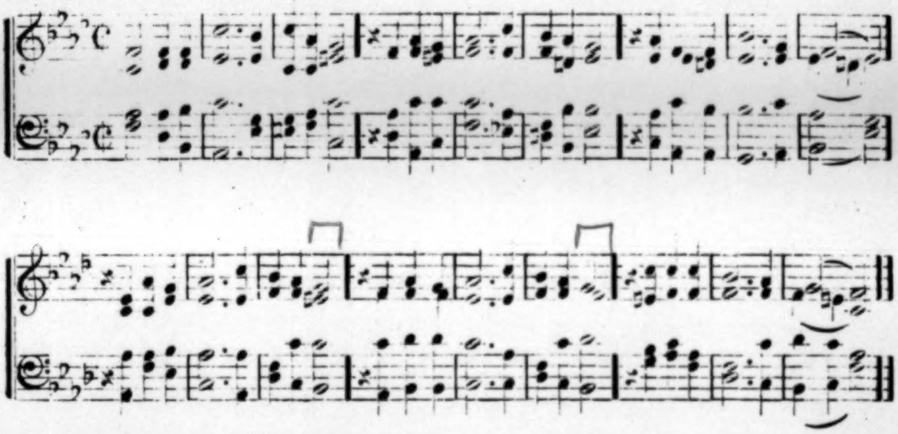
86. Beretning . . . Forenede Kirke . . . (Minneapolis, 1898), p. 239-240. Translated by the author.

PLATE XVIII

201 **Come Unto Me.** 8, 8, 6, 8, 8, 6.
Kommer til mig, sagde Guds Søn. Pub. at Nürnberg, 1530.



201 *Forfærdes ei, du lille Hob.*

1 Fear not, O little flock, the foe,
Who madly seeks your overthrow;
Dread not His rage and power:[faints,
What though your courage sometimes
His seeming triumph o'er God's saints
Lasts but a little hour.

2 Fear not! be strong! your cause belongs
To Him who can avenge your wrongs;
Leave all to Him, your Lord:
Though hidden now from mortal eyes,
His Gideon yet shall for you rise,
Defend you and His Word.

3 As true as God's own Word is true,
Nor earth nor hell, with all their crew,
Against us shall prevail.
A jest and byword are they grown;
"God is with us:" we are His own;
Our victory cannot fail.

4 Amen, Lord Jesus, grant our prayer!
Great Captain, now Thine arm make bare;
Fight for us once again!
So shall Thy saints and martyrs raise
A mighty chorus to Thy praise,
World without end. Amen.

202

1 Lord of the church, we humbly pray
For those who guide us in Thy way,
And speak Thy holy Word:
With love divine their hearts inspire,
And touch their lips with hallowed fire,
And needful grace afford.

2 Help them to preach the truth of God,
Redemption through the Saviour's blood;
Nor let the Spirit cease
On all the church His gifts to shower:
To them a messenger of power,
To us, of life and peace.

3 So may they live to Thee alone;[done!"
Then hear the welcome word, "Well
And take their crown above,
Enter into their Master's joy,
And all eternity employ
In praise, and bliss, and love.

this method of compromise often has less than fortunate results. In No. 201 there are two cadences where the melody comes to rest on a long note which is part of a seventh chord. In Lindeman's original arrangement the melody and harmony move on immediately. This, or course, was why he used a seventh chord at that point. A seventh chord is an active chord, not a passive one, and he wanted to give the impression of movement, not of rest at that point.[87] But in the rhythmic version of the tune the seventh becomes stressed out of proportion, obtruding itself from its total context (see Plate XVIII). No. 206 has a similar use of the seventh chord, but here it falls on a half note at the beginning of a phrase. The obtrusive effect is the same, however.

The United hymnal, which uses Lindeman's harmonies, also uses his rhythms. Its shortcoming lies in its compromising choice of tunes. No. 263 is a particularly bad example. It is in 6/8 time and has a waltz accompaniment written in (see Plate XIX). It is perhaps unfair to pick the worst example in the book, but it serves to illustrate the difference in approach between the two committees. In all fairness one must add that there is

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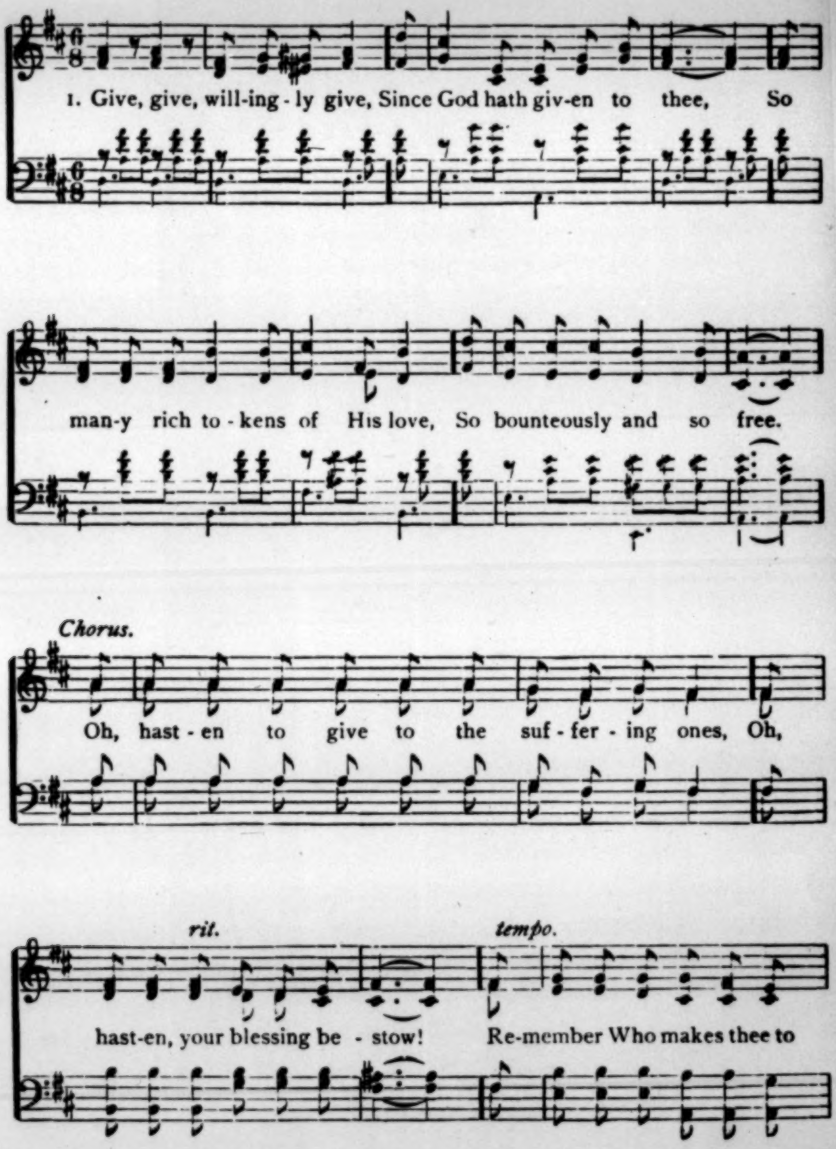
87. In his use of seventh chords as an intermediate cadence chord Lindeman was an innovator in Norway.

XIX

PLATE XIX

Church and Sunday School Hymnal, 1898

263. Give, Give, Willingly Give.


1. Give, give, will-ing - ly give, Since God hath giv-en to thee, So
man-y rich to - kens of His love, So bounteously and so free.
Chorus.
Oh, hast - en to give to the suf - fer - ing ones, Oh,
rit.
hast-en, your blessing be - stow!
tempo.
Re-member Who makes thee to

a great deal in the United hymnal which is worthy, but the musical variety which it provides is of a lower order than that provided by the Synod hymnal.

In the arrangement of its hymns the United book reflects the eastern Lutheran background of E. G. Lund. It is modelled on the Church Book with Music (Philadelphia, 1872 and 1893), the hymnal of the General Council, the body from which Lund came. The hymns follow a liturgical pattern--Worship in General, God and His Work, The Church Year, The Church and the Means of Grace, etc. The Synod hymnal, by contrast, has followed a purely practical approach, "to facilitate interchange of tunes of the same meter, and also to facilitate future revision and enlargement of the book."[88] The hymns are arranged metrically. Beginning with the four line hymns and proceeding to the higher numbers, each division also begins with the low numbered meters and proceeds to the higher ones.

In terms of documentation, the Synod hymnal is the more thorough. It lists the composer, or source, with each tune, and the author with the text in the index. The United book lists no authors whatever and quite often omits the source of the tune. In addition to its metrical

88. From the Preface to the book.

index, the Synod book has an index of tunes, one of Norwegian tune names, a topical index and the regular alphabetical index. The United book has a topical index in front and metrical and tune indexes in the back, in addition to the alphabetical index.

In the liturgical portion the United book excels. The complete order of service of 1889 appears in English with music. In addition, there is the complete order of Lutheran vespers.[89] The musical settings are Anglican. A Sunday school service is modelled on Matins, but the Nunc Dimittis has been added and the service has other--wise been adjusted to meet particular Sunday school needs. Included also are the ancient Collects for the church year and a selection of ppalms.

The Synod hymnal also has a translation of the Norwegian order of 1889, but it has taken its prayers from The Common Service of 1888, where the translations are superior to E. G. Lund's in the United book. The Synod hymnal does not include the communion service as the other does. It does not include the Absolution, which was added in the altar book of 1901. It uses the Lord's Prayer at the close of both the opening and closing

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89. This was taken from the Church Book with Music.

prayers--a holdover from the old Ritual. Both the evening service and Sunday school service have been composed. The latter service includes a setting of the Lord's Prayer based on one of the Reformation Vaterunser chants. The harmonization accompanying the chant is an unfortunate addition, obviously done by someone unacquainted with chant accompaniment. A few general prayers conclude the liturgical portion of the book.

The Synod hymnal would probably have avoided its major error--the combination of Lindeman harmony and the rhythmic chorale--if a musician of the caliber of John Dahle had been on the committee. In his articles of 1906 he criticized this aspect of the book, saying that in this melodic form Lindeman would have harmonized the tunes differently himself.[90] If the two committees could somehow have surmounted the obstacle of the rhythmic chorale so that they could have continued working together, the resulting single hymnal would have been a book of more merit than either book turned out to be, published separately. The Synod people would have benefited from Lund's liturgical experience, and the United committee would have profited from the thoroughness of the Synod men and their refusal to have any truck with unworthy tunes. As it was the two books served as useful models

[90] Kirketidende (March), p. 341.

for the 1913 Hymnary; and in a critical period of transition to English they supplied the Norwegian-American congregations with service books which could have been far inferior had men of lesser judgment been guiding their publication.[91]

8. Den Lille Pilegrim, 1904

This book, which was published in Minneapolis by the United Church in answer to a demand for a Sunday school hymnal in Norwegian, needs only a passing reference. O. M. Norlie says that it was not well received.[92] Why this was so he does not explain. It is possible that the original demand for the book did not come from the young people so much as from their elders, who were loathe to see their children become Americanized too fast and lose contact with things Norwegian. For those who migrated from Norway, Norwegian was "the language of the heart," even after they had become Americans. But this was not necessarily true for the children, who probably preferred to use English. It is also possible that it was not popular because the quality of the music was, on the whole, better than most of what was popular then and available in any number of private publications. Whatever the reasons, it was supplanted in a few years by The Lutheran Hymnary, Junior and Concordia, both published in 1916 and both appearing in Norwegian and English. The organization of Den Lille Pilegrim is based on the catechism. Documentation is almost totally lacking, as are indexes. A brief, composed liturgy for opening the Sunday school is included in the back. The music is in the familiar Lindeman pattern.

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[91] While working on a supplement to their hymnal in 1902 the United committee came under pressure, which they successfully resisted, to include a number of "gospel hymns." Even so, in order to satisfy such demands, they did include a few hymns which most of the men on the committee did not favor. Beretning . . . Forenede Kirke . . . (Minneapolis, 1902), p. 57. To the knowledge of the author, the supplement never was published.

[92] The Lutheran Hymnary, Junior (Minneapolis, 1916), p. XI.

CHAPTER V

PERIPHERAL PUBLICATIONS IN THE EMERGING AMERICAN CHURCH

Introduction

Up to this point we have dealt with official and semi-official publications central to the church's life--the public worship of the congregation. In this chapter we shall examine the chief works among those that lay on the periphery, not directly concerned with the public worship yet influencing it because they were used by the people in their choirs, Sunday schools and all sorts of devotional and inspirational meetings from mission societies to temperance gatherings. Since men like Erik Jensen, John Dahle and F. Melius Christiansen stand out from the crowd in this period by virtue of their publishing activity, they will be discussed separately. Attention will also be given to collections of choral music.

1. Light Song Books

From 1878 until the Concordia song book was published in 1916 there was a proliferation of books containing songs designed to express Christian beliefs and aspirations in a less formal way than the hymnal did. Many of them were issued specifically for the young people. Most Lutheran hymns dealt with doctrines fundamental to the faith. These the people were accustomed to from church, and many of them were dear to them. But in the nineteenth century there was an insistent demand for a new type of expression. It sprang from the revivals of the century, and with the revivals came a type of music which was at the same time more superficial and more emotional than the regular hymns of the church. The Norwegians were caught up in it, as were most of the Americans around them. This music presented a vivid contrast to that which they sang in church. Lindeman had reduced the metrical unit to the quarter note. This music reduced it one step further, to the eighth note. The accompanying liveliness appealed to the young people. So did the sentimental harmonies worked into the songs "to prepare" the minds and hearts of the people to receive the spoken message. Revival sermons dealt mainly with sin, conversion and eternal life. The preoccupation with these aspects of Christianity, especially the last, undoubtedly accounts for the titles of many of the books containing this type of music, e.g. Hjemlandssange (Songs of the Homeland--heaven, in this case, not Norway), Den syngende Pilegrim (The Singing Pilgrim), Vaegterrøsten (The Cry of the Watchman), Israels Sange (Songs of Israel--again, heaven), Zions Harpe (Harp of Zion). No doubt there is more than just a touch of romanticism involved also in the persistent emphasis on yearning for what is not here--for what is distant and indistinct. A score of books in this category, with music, appeared during these years. Since they are all similar, varying only in the degree in which they emphasize the more conservative chorale form, the characteristics common to all of them will be discussed in the examination of the first of them, the one which really set the pattern for those that followed. That was Harpen, compiled by Pastors Gjermund Hoyme and Lars Lund. The first section of the book was published in 1878. Before examining the book it will not be amiss to find out something about the editors, not only of these volumes but of similar ones. There are likenesses in their background and education which are worth noting.

Hoyme and Lund were both born in Norway. Hoyme emigrated to the States at an early age and had his total education on the frontier. Lund grew up in Norway and attended a teachers' seminary before emigrating. Both found themselves schoolmates in Augsburg Seminary at about the time it moved from Marshall, Wisconsin to

Minneapolis (1872). Lund had also studied at Augustana Seminary in Paxton, Illinois. These seminaries at that time were training schools for the middle road churches. Both these men later served neighboring parishes in Eau Claire and Menomonie, Wisconsin. It was during this time that they jointly compiled and published Harpen. Hoyme later became the first president of the United Church. Pastor Bernt B. Haugan, who collaborated with Pastor Chr. O. Brohaugh to publish Vaegterrøsten, immigrated when he was a child and had all his education in this country. He attended the Hauge Synod seminary at Red Wing, Minnesota, and served out his pastorate in that synod. Haugan was a temperance lecturer as well, publishing a volume of temperance songs, called Kampmelodier (Battle Melodies). Brohaugh received his training in Norway. When he came to America he became a pastor in the Eielsen Synod first, then the Hauge Synod. He also published some other music books, one of them a collection of religious songs arranged with guitar accompaniment. Pastor M. Falk Gjertsen was born in Norway and came to America when he was seventeen years old. He also attended Augustana Seminary in Paxton. He served in the United Church, then joined the Free Church, and spent his final years independent of all the church bodies.[1]

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[1] Biographical information is from Norlie, Who's Who . . ., as follows: Hoyme, p. 268; Lund, p. 357; Haugan, p. 225; Brohaugh, p. 86; and Gjertsen, p. 179.

None of the men, we note, was a member of the Norwegian Synod, whose pastors, almost without exception, were trained in the classically and traditionally oriented schools in Oslo and St. Louis, later in the Synod's own seminary. Three of them were members of the Hauge Synod or the Free Church. Of the two who belonged to the United Church, one had received all his education in the States. Lund was the only seminarist from Norway, the only one, with the possible exception of Brohaugh, who might have acquired some knowledge of musical fundamentals and musicianship in the Norwegian tradition. This helps to explain the absence of a consistent standard of music in the books they put out. The later publications, which came out toward the close of the century, show improvement in harmonic treatment and writing. For them the editors had the professional assistance of such men as Dahle, Christiansen and T. S. Reimestad, a music teacher at Augsburg College. But before that time the editors were the captives of their sources. If the source from which they borrowed their tune had been edited by a musician they were fortunate. Often this was not the case and this is evident from the inconsistent harmonic treatment which different songs show. The editors must simply have incorporated them into their books as they found them.

All of the volumes of Harpen were in Norwegian. The first volume contained fifty-six songs. Not all had tunes with the texts. The foreword says the book was being published with music because none of the books for the Sunday school had any music in them. None of the regular Lutheran hymns appears, but there are three well known Christmas tunes--Glade jul, Deilig er den himmel blaa and Det kimer nu til julefest--and the English tune, Martyrdom. There is hardly any documentation of musical sources. The three tunes which are ascribed to specific sources would have benefited the collection more, musically, if they had not been included. Some of the tunes have the "gospel hymn" type of repeated phrase sung antiphonally between the trebles and the men.

The second volume of Harpen followed shortly. This one was distinguished by the inclusion of two standard chorale tunes, Kirken den er et gammelt hus (not with the Grundtvig text, however) and O tenk naar engagn samles skal (Lobt Gott ihr Christen alzugleich). The American tune, "Home, sweet Home," is also included. The largest percentage of songs is of the general caliber of volume one. There are fifty-six in this volume too. Oliver Larson is credited with several of the tunes, most of which are true to the contemporary style--running eighth notes with frequent dotted patterns.[2]

These two editions were combined into one volume, which, by 1888, had sold twenty thousand copies. Since the editors had been besieged by requests to publish more songs and to include with them songs suitable for religious instruction they issued two more volumes, one in that year and one in 1890. All four were then bound into one volume. To satisfy the demand, volume three included a great number of the standard hymns, in one, two and three voices. Approximately half are chorales. Among the others is the tune, "Long, Long Ago." Also, in what is probably its first appearance in America, the Norwegian Christmas song, Jeg er saa glad hver julekveld, appears in this volume with the tune now commonly associated with it.[3] So does the tune, "Sicilian Mariners," set with three texts, one each for Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.

Volume four is directed toward the choir more specifically than the rest. The songs are longer, There are thirty-eight of them, among which is the Bortniansky

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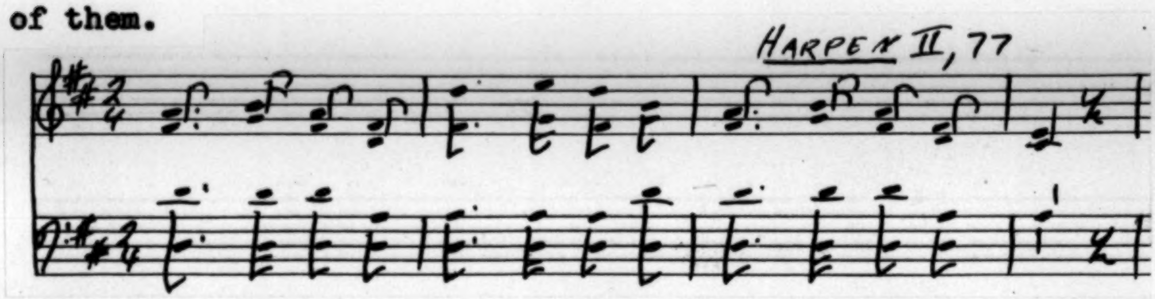
2. Larson taught music and directed the chorus at Augsburg Seminary ca. 1880. Norlie, School Calendar . . ., p. 412.

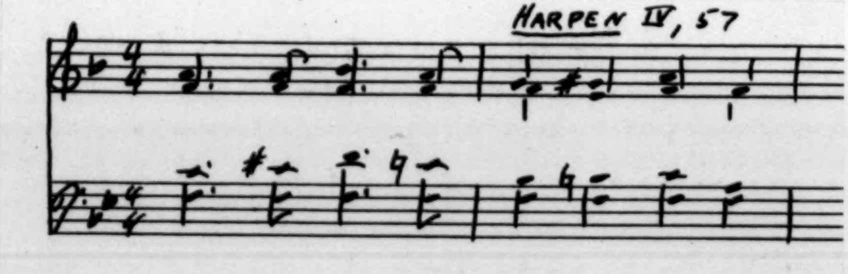
3. Present day Norwegian-Americans would probably smile to think of singing that text to "Auld Lang Syne," as Gjertsen set it in his Sangbogen (1897).

Cherubic Hymn. It stands in sharp contrast to the music which surrounds it.

What are the characteristics of the type of music typified by these volumes? The illustrations show some of them.

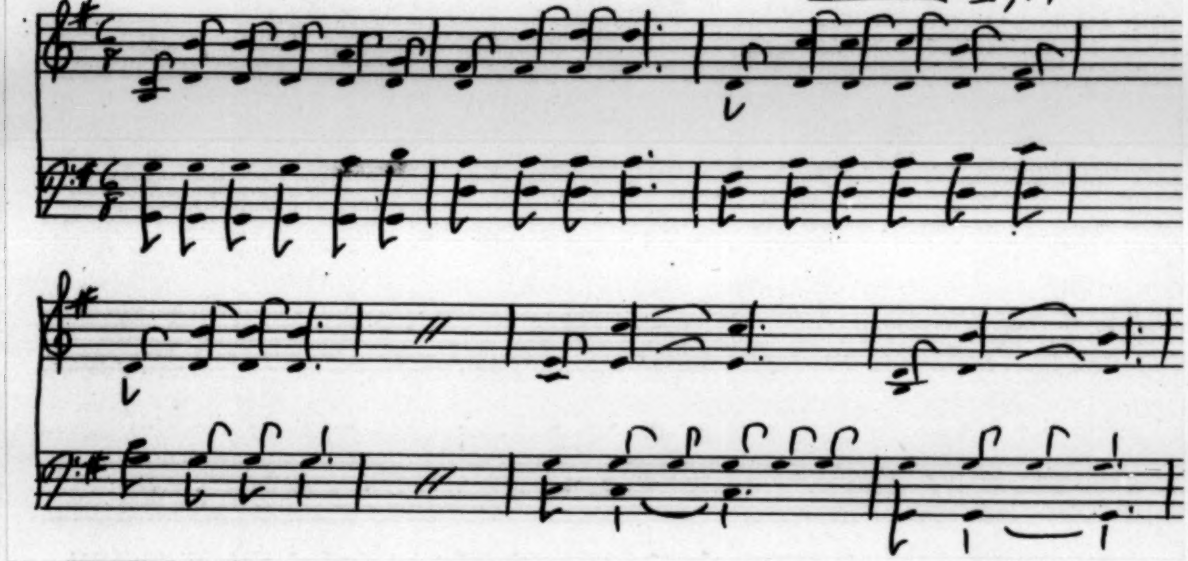


There is a sameness about the music due to the fact that it relies to such a great extent on melodic, rhythmic and harmonic cliches. Harmonies often remain static while melodies repeat a rhythmic pattern. Rhythm depends for variety on passages of quick, short-value notes and dotted figures. Harmonies do not often venture far beyond the stage of the primary relationships--tonic subdominant and dominant, with a liberal use of the seventh note of the chord, especially with the dominant.



Chromatic harmonies are used for their own sake, i.e. to add variety without contributing to the basic harmonic structure of the piece. The effect is one of sweetness, which soon cloys.

HARPEN II, 14



Parallel thirds and sixths in running passages are frequently used, sometimes within the same octave, often an octave apart as parallel tenths and thirteenths. Antiphonal, chorus-like effects are achieved by holding a harmony in one set of voices while another set sings a repeated pattern. The sixth is the melodic skip most favored by the composer of this music when he wants to strike a responsive note in the listener or singer. All the characteristics noted here, used excessively and coupled with a general lack of creative imagination in the writing of this music, eventually dull musical sensitivities and stunt musical growth.[4]

Though widely used, these song books were not unopposed. In a typically forthright statement, the Synod passed a resolution in 1896, which read, "Books such as *Harpen*, by Hoyme and Lund, and *Frydetoner*,[5] by B. B. Haugan ought not to be distributed by Lutheran Publishing

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[4] Following is a partial list of these song books: M. Falk Gjertsen and Jonas Engberg, *Firstemmige Melodier til Hjemlandssange* (1879); A. Haagensen, *Melodier til Pilegrims Sangeren* (1881); B. B. Haugan and Chr. O. Brohaugh, *Vaegterrøsten* (1887); Carsten Woll, *Kors og Krone* (1889); A. Haagensen and Chr. Treider, *Israels Sange* (1890); T. S. Reimestad, Wilh. Pettersen and H. Askeland, *Sangbog for Afholdsforeninger* (1890); B. B. Haugan and T. S. Reimestad, *Kamp Melodier* (1892); Chr. O. Brohaugh, *Harpelegeren* (1893); O. H. Quie, *Freds-Røsten* (1896); H. Langeland, *Guitartoner* (1896); T. S. Reimestad and M. Falk Gjertsen, *Sangbogen* (1897); Chr. O. Brohaugh, *Børnenes Harpe* (1899); B. K. Birkeland, *Fredsbasunen* (1899); J. J. Skordalsvold and Wm Ager, *Sangbog for Afholdsforeninger* (1901); *Ungdomskvad* (Free Church Book Concern, 1902); M. M. Gimse, *Guitarlegeren* (1903); Thos. Nelson and D. O. Teasley, *Zions Seiers Sange* (1906): H. F. Josephson, L. J. Pedersen and C. B. Bjuge, *Evangeli Harpe* (1906); Ulrikka Feldtmann Bruun, *Den Syngende Evangelist* (1909); L. Oscar Anderson and O. M. Anderson, *Nye og Udvalgte Sange* (1912); *Selected Songs* (The Independent Publishing Co., 1914). All of these books have music in them. Many of them were also issued in text editions only. In addition, there were many similar books which did not include music. English songs of this type which were sung are not listed here since they are found in the standard American collections of the time--Sankey, Rodeheaver, et al.

[5] Frydetoner, a popular collection of choral music, is discussed below.

House in Decorah."[6] In 1901 the United Church also passed a resolution, but did not mention any names. It read as follows: "The assembled delegates deplore the fact that there are congregations in our synod that prefer 'gospel hymns' to our Lutheran church music, since most of the so-called 'gospel hymns' are not suited either musically or textually to be used in Lutheran services or Sunday schools. The delegates see it as the duty of the Sunday schools to teach the children to sing the congregational hymns and to take part in the service. Therefore, they hold that the contents of congregational and Sunday school hymnals should be of the same type (ensartede)."[7]

"Gospel hymns" are not defined by the delegates. Nor do they indicate whether books such as Harpen are considered enough "of the same type" as the congregational hymnal. Under the circumstances, it would have been a delicate subject to debate, with Hoyme, as president, in the moderator's chair. Even supposing that Hoyme did have second thoughts about the comparative worth of Harpen in 1901, many years later, there was not very much he could do about it. The demand for the book

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6. Beretning . . . Synoden . . ., p. 96.

7. Beretning . . . Forenede Kirke . . ., p. 207.

was there. In 1906 the twenty-fifth printing was issued. The situation was not devoid of irony either, for better books than Harpen were available among the Norwegian-Americans, but they had been published by Erik Jensen, the man Hoyme, as president of the United Church, had been forced to discipline in 1893.

Harpen was, on the whole, better than some of its successors, but it had inaugurated a style of congregational music among the Norwegian-Americans which persisted for decades and reached into every part of the church in America and on foreign mission fields where Norwegians worked. It is significant that when Hoyme and Lund were asked to include songs for the instruction of the young they reverted to the chorales of the church. In all these publications, in some more than in others, the chorale serves as the anchor which prevents the people from slipping their liturgical and musical moorings completely.

2. The Publications of Erik Jensen

A. Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom (1878)

With the discussion on the foregoing pages in mind one has only to open to the foreword of Jensen's first book to realize that here we are dealing with a musical editor and compiler of an entirely different stamp. He starts by saying, "Wishing to say something in praise of the noble art of song, I find that I can do no better than to quote Dr. Martin Luther . . . " Then follow several long excerpts from his writings and table talks on music. With this as a starter, Jensen plunges into his own foreword, in which at some length he outlines his aims and hopes with the book. His foreword (minus Luther) is found in Appendix A, p. 334 . It will not be repeated here, except to quote his ultimate goal--"to broaden the understanding of our church hymn tunes and improve the singing in church and congregation."

Aside from its musical superiority to the books discussed above, Sangbog has one prime difference from the other books. It contains songs for secular occasions as well as for sacred.[8] He thought, rightly, that singing good secular music not only was an enjoyable occupation but that it would contribute to an appreciation and demand for better music in church as well. He says as much in his foreword. Here Jensen stands firmly in the tradition with Martin Luther and the great historic figures of church music. He was not a great musician himself, but he understood something of what music should be in the life of the Christian. By differentiating between sacred and secular, Jensen achieved what the compilers above strove for also. He provided music with bouncing rhythms and catchy tunes, but he set this music to secular texts, where it was appropriate. Furthermore, the tunes he chose have the ring of authenticity lacking to such a great extent in other collections.

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[8] "Sacred" and "secular" are here used descriptively, as denoting texts dealing with religious or nonreligious subjects. They have no qualitative implications.

The full title of the book is informative of its purpose and should be given--Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom. Samling af to-, tre- og firstemmige Sange, for Mandskor og blandet Kor. Til Brug for Hjemmet, Skolen, Kirken og Sangforeninger, samt ved festlige Anledninger. Tilligemed en praktisk Sanglaere (Chicago) (Songbook for Children and Youth. A collection of two, three and four part songs for male chorus and mixed chorus. For use in the home, school, church and singing societies, and for festive occasions. Together with a practical Singing Method). It is in three sections, which were published separately as well as together. Sections one and two have three-voice settings which can be reduced to two by leaving the lowest line unsung. The three-part settings may be sung in either the treble or the bass octave, thus are usable for children, women or men. Section three has four part songs. He has documented his sources throughout, with only a few exceptions. He has used many folk tunes. There are tunes by the song writers, J. A. P. Schulz and H. G. Nägeli, from Scandinavians like Ludvig Lindeman, C. E. F. Weyse and A. P. Berggren. He has included Waldemar Thrane's Solen gaar bak Aasen ne, from Fjeldeventyret, and Kjerulf's Brudefaerden i Hardanger. There are forty-one of the traditional chorales, many in rhythmic form, besides some later hymn tunes from Norway and Denmark, He provided enough tunes of different meter so that the book could serve as a temporary chorale book. In the foreword he points out that with these tunes one could sing three hundred seventy hymns in Guldberg, three hundred sixty-six in the Synod hymnal and four hundred forty-seven in Landstad. Jensen does not make the mistake of using Lindeman's harmonies with his rhythmic chorales. On the last page he includes the standard congregational responses. Like Behrens' Singing Method for schools, on which Jensen modelled his, the course in theory in the front of the book goes into detail regarding the voice and singing, the technical aspects of reading music, using both solfa and letters. Instruction on conducting patterns is included, and a number of exercises and scale studies.

With two hundred three songs and chorales, this was a book that must have presented many a choral group with a real challenge in the 'eighties and 'nineties. Jensen was not content with one book, however. We have noted that the year after he published Sangbog, he published his Koralbog, and during the interim changed his mind about the rhythmic chorale, deciding instead to follow in Lindeman's steps.

B. Scandinavian Songs, 1886

In 1886 Jensen published Scandinavian Songs, Part I (Decorah). It is a collection of national and folk airs with English and Norwegian texts, arranged for mixed choirs. Jensen shows his good taste in the way the book is arranged and printed. He has a foreword which includes biographical information on the composers represented. Individual numbers also are documented. Most of the documentary information Jensen got from R. B. Anderson and A. W. Moore, Norway Music Album (Boston, 1881). The translations also are from that album. Part II of Scandinavian Songs never appeared.

C. Børneharpen, 1889-'94 and Sange til Børneharpen, 1890

His next major publication was also a book for children. It also was issued in sections which began to come out in 1889. One of his reasons for issuing these books a section at a time was to make it easier for the purchaser to buy the entire volume without doing it all at once.[9] The first three sections had been issued by 1890. The fourth came out in 1894. The entire publication was called Børneharpen (The Children's Harp). At various stages of coming off the press it was published in four different places, Chicago, Story City, Iowa, Decorah and Minneapolis. It will be recalled that Jensen was asked to resign as pastor in Coon Valley in 1893. According to Hjalmar Holand, it was a dispute with his publisher in Story City that started Jensen on his decline as a pastor, for when he asked his congregation to support him he succeeded only in becoming more deeply involved.[10] After the argument in Story City, he established his own publishing house in Decorah, but soon removed to Minneapolis. The rest of his books were issued in that city, his chorale book being the sole exception. That

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9. This practice has caused confusion in the listing of Jensen's books, some of them being included twice in a given summary of his publications. Jensen contributed to the confusion by giving each book a subtitle. For these reasons P. M. Glasoe's list of Jensen's publications in Studies and Records 13 (1943), p. 101 is misleading, as are Norlie's in School Calendar, pp. 345-346 and in Who's Who . . ., p. 281.

10. Coon Valley, p. 111.

continued to be issued in Decorah.

In general, Børneharpen is similar to Sangbog. It begins with a brief quotation from Luther, then a fairly detailed foreword on singing. This is followed by a section of theory, partly repeating, partly expanding on what had appeared in Sangbog. This section works right into Part I of the songs. Jensen uses one- and two-part songs as illustrations and exercises for the theoretical discussion. Many of the examples are the classic chorales--in isorhythmic form now. Lindeman is well represented, and there are many folk songs. When Part I was first published in 1889, Jensen called it Musik-ABC. Part II is the same as Part I of Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom and carries that subtitle. However, the chorales, with one exception, have been changed to isorhythmic form and a supplement of thirty-seven numbers has been added--twenty-one of them hymns, of which three are in English. On Part III Jensen had John Dahle as a collaborator. Aimed primarily at the Sunday school, its texts are all sacred. Many of them are chorales, some are English hymns. They are set for either unison or four-part singing. Part IV is an expansion of the same idea. It opens with a liturgy for the Sunday school. Jensen shows his feeling for tradition here by using the Agnus Dei hymn (O Guds Lamm) as a confessional hymn, following it with a brief declaration of grace. Then he uses the Gloria hymn (Alene Gud). He also includes the Sursum Corda in the service. Part IV closes with the music for the liturgy of 1889, minus the Kyrie. In the back Jensen included a topical and seasonal index.

In 1890 Jensen and Dahle had also collaborated on editing a collection of texts to be sung to the tunes in Børneharpen I-III. It was called Sange til Børneharpen (Songs to go with Børneharpen). They took over a collection which had been started by the School Committee of the Synod and expanded it to include two hundred two hymns, of which thirty-six are English. In the foreword, Jensen suggested using the hymns in conjunction with teaching in confirmation and Sunday school classes. He said that the teachings of the catechism and the Bible would be more apt to make an impression if they could also be sung. Many of the hymns are repeated in the melody books, but the text edition substantially increased the usefulness of Børneharpen. Since the various volumes and names of the Børneharpen series present a confusing picture, they are listed below in summary:

Børneharpen I - Musik-ABC (1889)

II - Sangbog for Børn (1890)
This was identical, with the addition of a supplement, as Sangbog for Børn, Part I (1878).

III - En Sangbog for Uge- og Sondagsskolen og Hjemmet (1890). With John Dahle.

IV - Sange og Musik for Søndagsskolen, Ugeskolen, Hjemmet, Kirkekor, Höiskoler, Afholdskor, o.s.v. (1894)[11]

Sange til Børneharpen (1890) Texts only.

D. Religiøse Korsange for Mandsstemmer, 1894

In 1894 Jensen published Religiøse Korsange for Mandsstemmer (Religious Choir Songs for Men's Voices) in Minneapolis. As the title signifies it was meant specifically for the male choir. There are fifty-eight numbers. The book is an illustration of the scarcity of good religious male choir music at the time. There are a number of chorales that add weight to the book. But otherwise there is not very much of worth. Oscar Ahnfelt, the Swede who was so popular at this time, is represented by eight numbers.[12] Mozart is represented

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11. Translations of the titles of volumes three and four are as follows: III--A Songbook for Weekday School, Sunday School and the Home, and IV--Songs with Music for the Sunday School, Weekday School, Home, Church Choir, High Schools, Temperance Society Choir, etc. Part IV is undoubtedly the Sangbog for Sondagsskolen which is often referred to as a separate publication of 1894.

12. An example of Ahnfelt's style may be seen in Plate XXI, p. 287. 287

by his Ave Verum Corpus, with a Norwegian text which is not a translation of the original. Many of the numbers come from the Behrens male choir collections. Here, as in most of his books, Jensen bears the church in mind. The last number in the book consists of the regular congregational liturgical responses. He also includes a topical index in back based on the church year.

E. Klokketoner, 1896

Jensen's next venture was already under way before he had finished the two before. In 1892 he began to publish mixed choir music in fascicles. It was issued to be used by the newly organized Norwegian Lutheran Choral Union (Det Norsk-Lutherske Sanger-Forbund) and called first simply Korsange (Choir Songs). Later when he collected the fascicles into a volume he named it Klokketoner (Bell Tones). In this publication also we come upon evidence of his rupture with the church. After 1893 Jensen no longer issued the music for the Choral Union. It was issued by their own music committee, and later published in a volume called Korsange (Minneapolis, 1900). Klokketoner consists of two hundred sixty numbers of mixed worth. Like Religiøse Korsange before it, this volume bears witness to the dearth of sacred choral music of quality when the choirs of the Norwegian churches began to form in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Jensen had a much easier time when he furnished music for his children and youth books. For these it was not so difficult to find worthwhile music. Hymns and folk tunes formed a sound core in these books. But when he tried to provide something for the adult choir, something more sophisticated, he had trouble--as did other compilers of choral music. They were invariably at their best when they presented the simple, straightforward chorales. This goes far to explain why F. Melius Christiansen was such an immediate success when he finally found himself in the first decade of the century and began to compose choral arrangements of the traditional chorales. Except for the hymns, a few folk songs and an occasional number by Mozart, Mendelssohn, Bortniansky, Handel--there is nothing in Klokketoner which has outlasted the book. The great wealth of choral literature from the past which the Lutheran church knows and uses today was still lying on dusty library shelves in 1896.

F. De Unges Sangbog, 1899

In his last publication, De Unges Sangbog (Songbook for Youth) (Minneapolis, 1899), Jensen returned to his forte in publishing--a book for youth. The book contains four-hundred texts, including all of those in

Sange til Børneharpen. There are one hundred seventy-three tunes, of which seventy are chorales and hymns. For some reason he did not document this book. In the front he included a topical index. He bound this book in Dutch door fashion, with the pages divided horizontally in the middle, so that the tunes in the upper half of the page could be matched with the texts in the lower half. In 1903 he reissued the book.

In general excellence of content and presentation, Jensen never surpassed his first book. He came close to doing so in Børneharpen, and he might have done so had he retained the rhythmic chorale form as a foil for the chorales in isorhythmic form.

Taken as a whole, in view of most of the publishing that was being done around him, Jensen's record as a private editor of music for the church and school is quite remarkable. And in it all we can distinguish the marks of the churchman--the emphasis on the chorale, on training the young, the inclusion of congregational liturgical elements, the awareness of church seasons and festivals.

3. The Work of John Dahle

John Dahle was another of the seminarists from Norway, and he showed the same characteristics as the rest--

industry, balanced judgment, competence if not brilliance, thoroughness, an awareness of and appreciation for, the cultural context in which the church existed.[13] Unlike the other seminarists we have mentioned, he did not become a pastor.

Dahle was born in 1853, in Valdres, Norway, and attended the teachers' seminary at Hamar, graduating in 1872. It is possible that he came into direct contact with Johan Behrens while he was there. It was during this time that the latter was engaged in conducting summer courses in singing at various teacher seminaries (see above, pp. 35-36). Dahle's coming under the magnetic influence of Behrens would account to a great extent for his own consuming interest later in male and mixed choirs in the States. After finishing at the seminary Dahle studied drama in Oslo. He emigrated to the States in 1876 and for a number of years was the organist and choir director in a church in Chicago. In those years one of the subjects which was considered an appropriate companion of the study of music was gymnastics. Dahle also was a gymnast, and in America at various times he taught Norwegian, singing and gymnastics at St. Olaf

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13. A profitable research project would be a study of the impact on Norwegian-American life made by graduates of these Norwegian teacher seminaries.

College and Concordia College (Moorhead), Danish-Norwegian drama at the University of Minnesota and sacred music at three Norwegian Lutheran seminaries--the United and Synod seminaries before the Union of 1917, and the new Luther Theological Seminary after the Union.[14] There he remained until his death in 1931. In addition to his teaching duties he continued in active church work as an organist and choir director. For thirty years he served in those capacities in Christ Lutheran Church on Capitol Hill in St. Paul. Finally, to round out his many-sided personality, he became a journalist. In 1890-91 he edited a musical journal, called Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende. It came out as a monthly and ran for approximately fourteen issues, then faded out of sight. In 1895 Dahle began another musical journal. This one he called simply Musiktidende.[15] On page one in the first issue he enunciated the purpose of the publication: " . . . to work for the betterment of singing, especially church singing . . ." This periodical suffered the same fate as the first. The author has been able to

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14. Biographical data is from Norlie, School Calendar . . ., p. 136 and Gunnar J. Malmin, introduction to Jubilate Anthems (Minneapolis, n.d., ca. 1930).

15. Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende was published in Minneapolis by Scandia Publishing Co., Musiktidende in St. Paul by Northern Music Co.

find only two issues of the latter, which also was a monthly. The contents of the periodicals included biographies of prominent Scandinavian and German composers, excerpts from books on music history and theory (e.g. Behrens' Singing Method), music news items and sheet music. The first periodical printed the music in the body of the magazine. The second issued it as a supplement. The music was both sacred and secular and consisted of solo, choral and keyboard works.

In the two extant issues of Musiktidende Dahle wrote an article called "Syngende Menigheder" (Singing Congregations). In it he suggested that occasional extra services in church could be devoted to singing. These could be called Sang Gudstjenester (Song Services). The whole congregation, with the choir, could then practice singing, in parts and unison, under a director. After three or four songs there could be a break in which the pastor could give a short talk on an appropriate subject. Then the "rehearsal" could proceed.[16] It is of historical interest to note this because it was just twelve years later that F. Melius Christiansen and the Rev. J. N. Kildahl teamed up to do precisely this. And it was in these early song services that Christiansen began to turn

16. (Feb., 1895), p. 1.

out the chorale-based compositions which made him and the St. Olaf Choir famous.

Another musical periodical, which Dahle co-edited with G. B. Wollan, was more in the nature of a series of music fascicles. It was called Jubilate, with the subtitle, Kirkelige Sange for blandet Kor (Church Songs for Mixed Choir). It was published in St. Paul between 1901 and 1905, coming out irregularly, approximately quarterly.[17] It contained music only, but inside the cover, Dahle, no man to lose an opportunity to talk about music, would often print short sketches of composers, notes on the songs, thoughts on church music. Inside the cover of Jubilate V (May, 1902), he expressed some thoughts which are not out of date sixty years after they were written: "The church choirs which regard their special choir numbers as a type of concert music which will delight the congregation completely misunderstand their purpose. Such choirs generally favor American 'anthems' in which light, dancing music alternates with sentimental solos or duets. The singers want to be

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17. Again, it has been impossible to determine just when Jubilate ceased being published. A comparison of the fascicles with the bound volume of Jubilate would seem to indicate that the series consisted of fifteen or sixteen fascicles, which would bring them into late 1905.

seen and the hearers want to enjoy the music. The music they want to hear is what tickles the ear . . ." However, he says, " . . . church choir music is a part of the public worship of God and it should not by anything that calls attention to itself as something piquant or ambitious."

In Jubilate VIII (March, 1903), he devoted the insides of both front and back covers to Joh. Behrens' thoughts regarding the rhythmic chorale. It will be recalled that this was the year of the Synod Jubilee, and Koren had asked Dahle to include a group of rhythmic chorales in an issue of Jubilate so they could be sung at the choral festival. Issue No. IX included those chorales. Judging by Dahle's writing and music publishing prior to this time, he had not given the rhythmic chorale much thought. These issues of Jubilate and his articles in Kirketidende, quoted earlier, show that he learned to appreciate the genius of the old chorale rhythms, but he also appreciated Lindeman. He seems to have taken a stance somewhere in the middle, between the extreme partisans for and against the rhythmic chorale. The issues of Jubilate were later bound into a single volume, entitled Jubilate, Dahle's "editorial covers" were, unfortunately, not bound with the music.[18]

[18] The most complete files of Norsk Amerikansk Musik-

Mention must be made in passing of Dahle's work as an associate editor of the Norwegian language paper, Nordvesten, published in St. Paul. From 1902 to 1905 he wrote editorials, music reviews and articles for the paper. Among his articles was a series on Norwegian-American musicians.

It was during his early period in Chicago that Dahle's first publication came out. He was the organist in Our Savior's Lutheran church where Rev. Ole Juul was the pastor. In 1884 he issued Sangbog for Kirkekor I (Songbook for the Church Choir). In 1890 Volume II came out. In the foreword he says that a collection of good music for the church choir is sorely needed. Too many church choirs are using "light and lively American songs." In trying to provide something worthy he says that he had gone only to the best composers for music. He warns that some of the numbers will sound strange and unappealing upon first hearing, but he urges choirs and directors to sing them several times over, assuring them that a closer acquaintance with them will change this viewpoint.

In the two volumes there are eighty-seven numbers.

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18. (cont.) tidende, Musiktidende and Jubilate which the author has found are in the archives of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota.

All can be sung a cappella. A few pieces have some provision for accompaniment. In actual practice the organ probably doubled the parts for support. The music is almost exclusively homophonic, or, more technically, note-against-note. Only in the Handel pieces is there an occasional contrapuntal flight. Those pieces include "Glory be to God" and "Hallelujah" from the Messiah--both a cappella. All the songs are in Norwegian. Ludvig Lindeman wrote a setting of the Dies Irae for this collection at Dahle's request. It later was taken into The Lutheran Hymnary (No. 601). Gottfried Wagner is represented with "Blessing, Glory, Wisdom and Thanks" and Benedetto Marcello with his "Psalm 95." The setting of the Sanctus of the 1889 liturgy is also included here, so it must have been in circulation in Norway before 1887, when it first appeared in the liturgy. The harmony here is the same as that in the liturgical setting. Dahle has used no chorales at all. Aside from a few pieces, such as those mentioned, most of the numbers are typical nineteenth century fare that would sound hackneyed and trite today. But in 1884 this collection was a decided step forward. On the back cover he printed a seasonal index to help choir directors in selecting appropriate music for the church service.

Dahle's was the first publication of its type among the Norwegians. The earlier books, such as Jensen's *Sangbog*, which were also usable for the choir, did not have any extended choral works. All the songs in them were short homophonic pieces. The two Dahle volumes were widely used. The 1902 printing marked the five thousandth copy.

Dahle consistently improved the quality of the music he turned out in subsequent publications. The *Jubilate* series contained the rhythmic chorales and a piece each by Eccard and Rosenmuller (*Et lidet Barn saa lystelig* and *Herre Jesu, kom tilstede*,respectively), with fewer numbers by composers such as C. Kreutzer and A. Mankell. Dahle does not once use a piece by Oscar Ahnfelt, the popular standby of so many collections of music at this time. Much of the music in *Jubilate* is accompanied. With each new collection he challenged his singers a little more. In 1908 he used the rhythmic chorales once again for the second festival of the Synod Choral Union. In the publication for the event, *Korsange og Koraler*, he also included "Behold the Lamb of God" and "Worthy is the Lamb" from the *Messiah* with full keyboard accompaniment. In *Laus Deo* (Decorah, 1915) he included "Glory be to thee" by Heinrich Schütz and the motet, "I am the Resurrection and the Life," by Gallus Dressler. In 1917 he included Melchoir Vulpius' "Had God not come" (Lobt den Herren, ihr) in Reformation Songs (Minneapolis). Dahle also did some composing, in which he showed himself to be a workman who knew his craft. But his compositions do not have the fire of inspiration. This was not his gift. Perhaps his best work, certainly the most sung, was his setting of the twenty-third psalm, "Herren er min Hyrde." Some hymns which he wrote were included in the Hymnary, but they have not been sung extensively.

It was typical of Dahle, with his classical background and training, to give his books titles such as Jubilate, Laus Deo, or the straightforward Sangbog for Kirkekor. Implicit even in the titles is an entirely different approach to the use of music in the church from that of the compilers of Den syngende Pilegrim and Vaegterrøsten. Dahle did not represent the pilgrim wandering through a hostile world--a world to be eschewed, He represented the individual who believed he was put here for a purpose and that purpose was to make use of God's creation in praising Him.

In an earlier chapter we took note of Dahle's work on the Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church. During the 'twenties he worked on his three-volume companion to The Lutheran Hymnary. He called it The Library of Christian Hymns.[19] During this time he also published "An Index of Tempo Marks" for the Hymnary, a single-fold sheet inserted into the hymnal or the companion. In it he indicated tempo markings for all the hymns in the Hymnary.

Before we leave John Dahle, mention must be made of his activity with the male chorus. He came to this country full of interest in the movement, and it was not long before he began to organize and direct male choirs. Because of his interest and activity in this area he was sometimes referred to as "the Joh. D. Behrens of America." In the same year in which he published his Sangbog for Kirkekor he issued Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger, indeholdende Faedrelands-og Folkesange, etc. (Chicago, 1885) (Songbook for Male Choruses, containing Songs of the Fatherland and Folksongs, etc.). The collection of seventy-seven songs is modelled very closely on Behrens' books, containing the standard Norwegian and Swedish male chorus repertory. Fram, published in Minneapolis in 1898, is the same type of coll-

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19. The volumes came out in Minneapolis as follows: Vol. I, 1924; II, 1927; III, 1928. They were translated into English by M. Casper Johnshoy.

ection but contains a few English songs as well. Nordisk Sang Album (Chicago, 1909), with one hundred ten numbers, is also the same.

Dahle walked with equal ease in the company of the male chorus and in that of the church choir. He understood their separate functions. He also understood that the Norwegian who went to church and the Norwegian who sang in the male chorus partook of the same common musical heritage. That heritage was well represented in him.

4. Choral Publications

In his book, The History of the Choral Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, J. C. K. Preus traces the beginnings of church choir singing among the Norwegian-Americans.[20] It was natural that the choirs would think of combining their resources for larger singing festivals. The pattern for the sangerstevner or sangerfester already existed in Norway in Behrens' male chorus festivals. Furthermore, male choirs had been active among Norwegian-Americans since the Normanna Male Chorus

[20] (Minneapolis, 1961).

was organized in LaCrosse in 1869.[21] In 1891 the United Scandinavian Singers--Norwegian, Danish and Swedish male choirs--held a festival in Minneapolis.[22] Undoubtedly this event gave impetus to the organization of several Norwegian Lutheran church choirs in Minneapolis in 1892. The choirs called themselves The Norwegian Lutheran Singers Union (Det Norsk-Lutherske Sanger-Forbund). It was this organization for which Jensen had issued the first few fascicles of his Klokketoner. Thereafter the music which the singers learned and sang together was issued by the organization's music committee. In 1900 the fascicles issued up to that time were bound into a volume called Korsange (Choir Songs).[23]

Most of the texts in Korsange are in Norwegian. A few are in English. Of the seventy-nine numbers, twenty-five--or almost one third--are hymns. Fully half of these, it is worth noting, are original Lindeman tunes, the rest

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21. Johs. B. Wist, ed. Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914 (Decorah, Iowa, 1914), p. 277.

22. Wist, loc. cit.

23. It was published in Minneapolis. This is undoubtedly the same volume as the Korsange credited to the Rev. L. P. Thorkveen. He was one of the leading lights of the organization. For some years he was the secretary. His name appears in Korsange as editor of some of the texts. Oluf Glasøe acted as co-editor.

his harmonizations of classic chorales. The music committee, therefore, showed themselves to be quite conservative in their choice of music. Other numbers include Mendelssohn's "If with all your hearts," "O Rest in the Lord," "He that shall Endure," and "Cast they burden upon the Lord," all from *Elijah* and all edited for four part chorus. Inclüded also is the chorus, "Surely," from Handel's *Messiah*. Of lesser composers there are Fr. Silcher, the popular nineteenth century German composer of male chorus music, Erik Hoff and Peter Lindeman. The music is largely unaccompanied, and, with few exceptions is written in homophonic style. All in all, the volume represents sober, conscientious effort to provide choirs with worthy music. In 1905 Thorkveen edited *Kirkesange for blandet Kor* (Minneapolis) (Church Songs for Mixed Choir). The contents are similar to *Korsange*, but the proportion of songs in the popular style is greater. The proportion of hymns and chorales is correspondingly smaller.

In 1911 the Choral Union of the United Church was formed. The leading musical figure now was F. Melius Christiansen. As one would expect, the choral publicaissued for this organization contain much of his music. *Sange udgivet for Den Forenede Kirkes Sangerforbund* (Songs issued for the Choral Union of the United Church) came out in two editions in 1911 and 1914 in Minneapolis. The change from the contents of the earlier volumes discussed above is striking. Now, in addition to the regular chorales, hymns and other choral works, there are polyphonic arrangements of chorales for four to eight voices by Christiansen. Haydn's "The Heavens are Telling" from The Creation is included, as is the popular "Largo" from Handel's Xerxes, with the sacred text, "Trust in the Lord."

In 1917, at the festival celebrating the Union of the three Norwegian church bodies, the song pamphlet is half filled with Christiansen's cantata, "Wondrous Things the Lord hath done." Among the other numbers are four chorales and "Largo." The pamphlet is titled Sange for Sangerfesten under Forenings-Aarsmøde 1917 (Minneapolis) (Songs for the Song Festival during the Union Meeting). In 1918 the organizational meeting of the Choral Union of the new Norwegian Lutheran Church of America was held. In the song pamphlet for that year appears the only rhythmic chorale that these early publications of the Choral Union of the United Church and its sequel, the Norwegian Lutheran Church, used.[24] From its position of prominence in the programs of the old Synod, the rhythmic chorale abruptly disappeared from sight in the massed choir singing of the new church.

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[24] The chorale was Jesus, dine dype vunder (Freu dich sehr, O meine Seele).

The choral publications of these early years, from 1890 to 1910, fall into two general classifications. The first is the body of material assembled by the officially organized choruses discussed above. In these organizations a music committee was appointed to oversee the publication of songs. The members of the committee were usually those who had had some experience with music. The result was that the choice of music to be published was of high quality, and, as evidenced in Korsange and in Dahle's publications for the Synod, laid stress on the singing of chorales and hymns.

The second classification encompasses various private publications, other than those of Jensen, Dahle and Christiansen. The quality of these publications varies somewhat with the editor, but they have one characteristic in common--the lack of a unifying musical standard. They contain occasional numbers which have genuine musical value, but these pieces are surrounded by so many without lasting value that the standard of the whole collection is undermined. Typical of this type of choral collection is the one called Frydetøner (Joyful

Tunes).[25]

The pieces in this collection appeared over a number of years, printed in the issues of Ungdommens Ven (Young People's Friend), a semi-monthly magazine for the youth of the Lutheran church. The editor was a Hauge Synod pastor by the name of K. C. Holter. He was born in Norway, immigrated to the States as a youth and attended Augsburg Seminary.[26] Both Holter and his wife were interested in music. In order to contribute to the musical life of the church and give the young people something to sing they hit upon the scheme of including music in their youth magazine. The idea was a laudable one. Unfortunately, all too often the music which appeared was not equally laudable. That good music was available had been demonstrated by Jensen and Dahle. What Holter lacked was a musical standard. Page fifty-five in volume one of Frydetoner illustrates the extremes of taste which characterize the collection (Plate XX). The song at the top of the page is distinguished only by its musical poverty---in every respect, melodically,

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[25] Others, not all of which were issued by Norwegian Lutherans but which used essentially the same materials, were P. H. P. Rydning, Korsangeren (1904); Northern Choir Album (1906-1911); Sions Vaegter (1894); Emil Larson, Sangkor. Aandelige Sange for blandede Stemmer (1908).

[26] Norlie, Who's Who . . ., p. 261.

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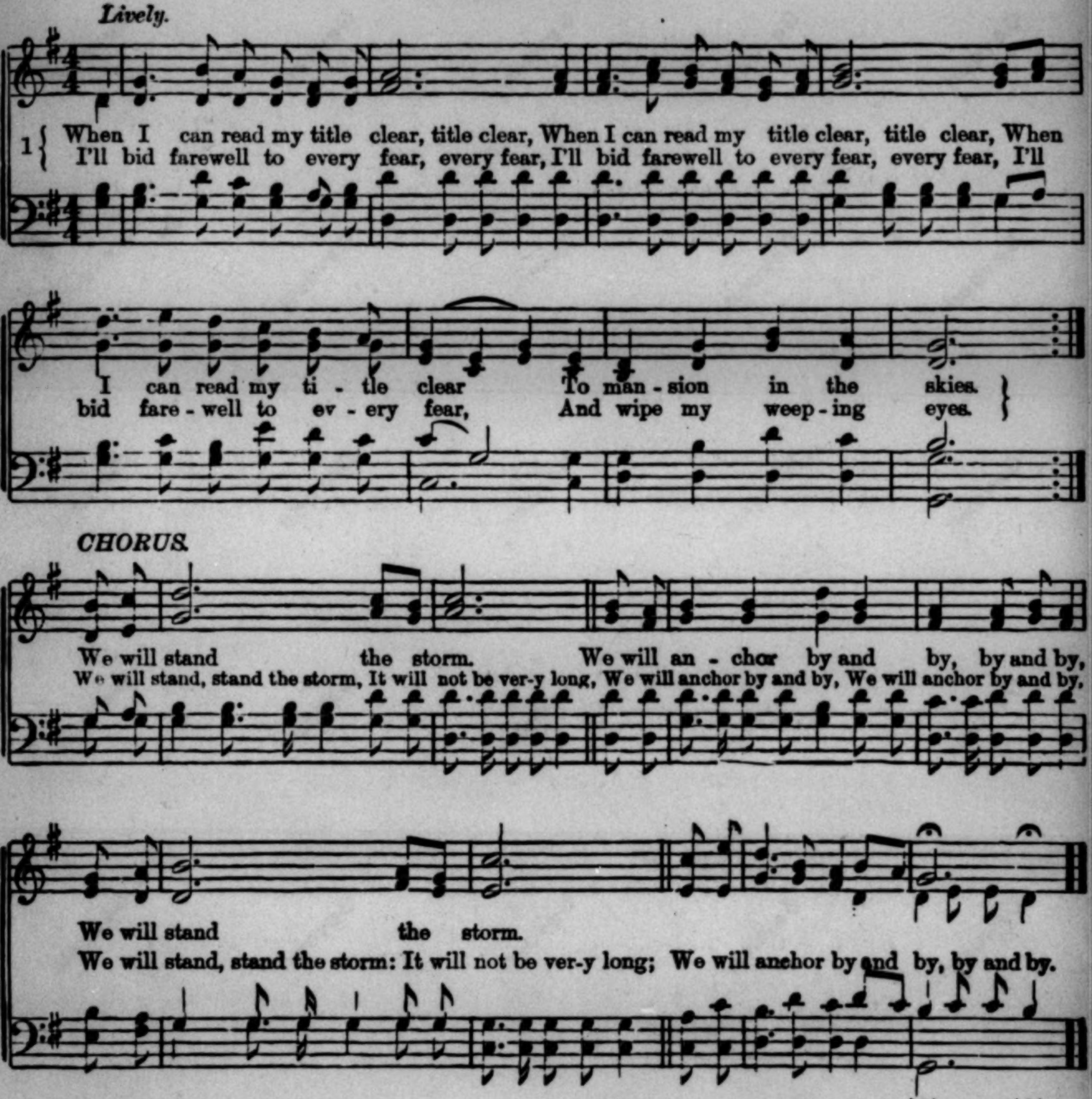
Plate XX

PLATE XX

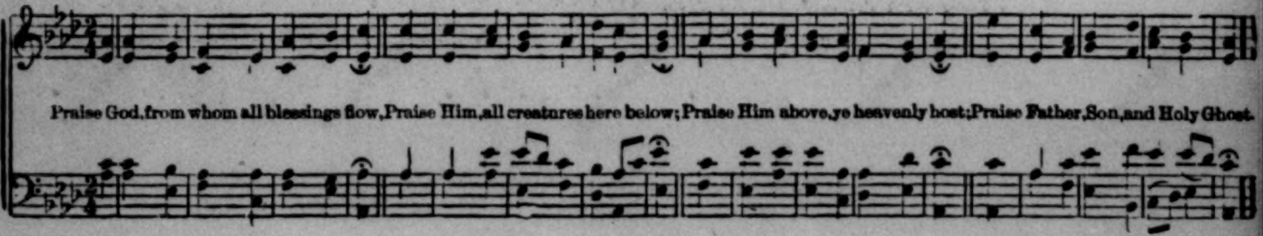
Title Clear.


Lively.
1 { When I can read my title clear, title clear, When I can read my title clear, title clear, When I can read my ti - tle clear To man - sion in the skies. }
I'll bid farewell to every fear, every fear, I'll bid farewell to every fear, every fear, I'll bid fare - well to ev - ery fear, And wipe my weep - ing eyes.
CHORUS.
We will stand the storm. We will an - chor by and by, by and by,
We will stand, stand the storm, It will not be ver-y long, We will anchor by and by, We will anchor by and by.
We will stand the storm.
We will stand, stand the storm: It will not be ver-y long; We will anchor by and by, by and by.

2. Let cares like a wild deluge come,
Let storms of sorrow fall —
So I but safely reach my home,
My God, my heaven, my all.
Cho.—We will stand, &c.

3. There I shall bathe my weary soul
In seas of heavenly rest,
And not a wave of trouble roll
Across my peaceful breast.
Cho.—We well stand, &c.

DOXOLOGY.


Praise God, from whom all blessings flow, Praise Him, all creatures here below; Praise Him above, ye heavenly host; Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

harmonically and rhythmically. In order to accommodate the notes the text is repeated to the point of absurdity. The text is an excellent illustration of the contemporary preoccupation with life after death--the coming eternal rest. By way of contrast, the hymn which was squeezed in at the bottom of the page stands as a reminder of the language which music can and ought to speak.

Most of the songs in Frydetoner fall more into the classification of the light songs, spoken of earlier in this chapter, than they do in that of choral music (see Plate XXI). They also have the same musical shortcomings. In volumes three and four pieces of greater length and complexity appear. In volume four appears Handel's "Worthy is the Lamb," from the Messiah. Also in volume four is the largest grouping of chorales, among which there are three rhythmic chorales. But, on the whole, Frydetoner is not distinguished by its stressing of chorales. Volume four also includes two of Christiansen's Light Lyrical Religious Songs and some numbers by the Swedish writer Gunnar Wennerberg. Near the end are several preludes for organ, intended for use in the service. Documentation of sources improved with later volumes.

The first volume of Frydetoner, in bound form, appeared in 1891. It was enlarged until it reached a total of four volumes, and was reissued many times. It was very popular and was widely used. And without doubt,

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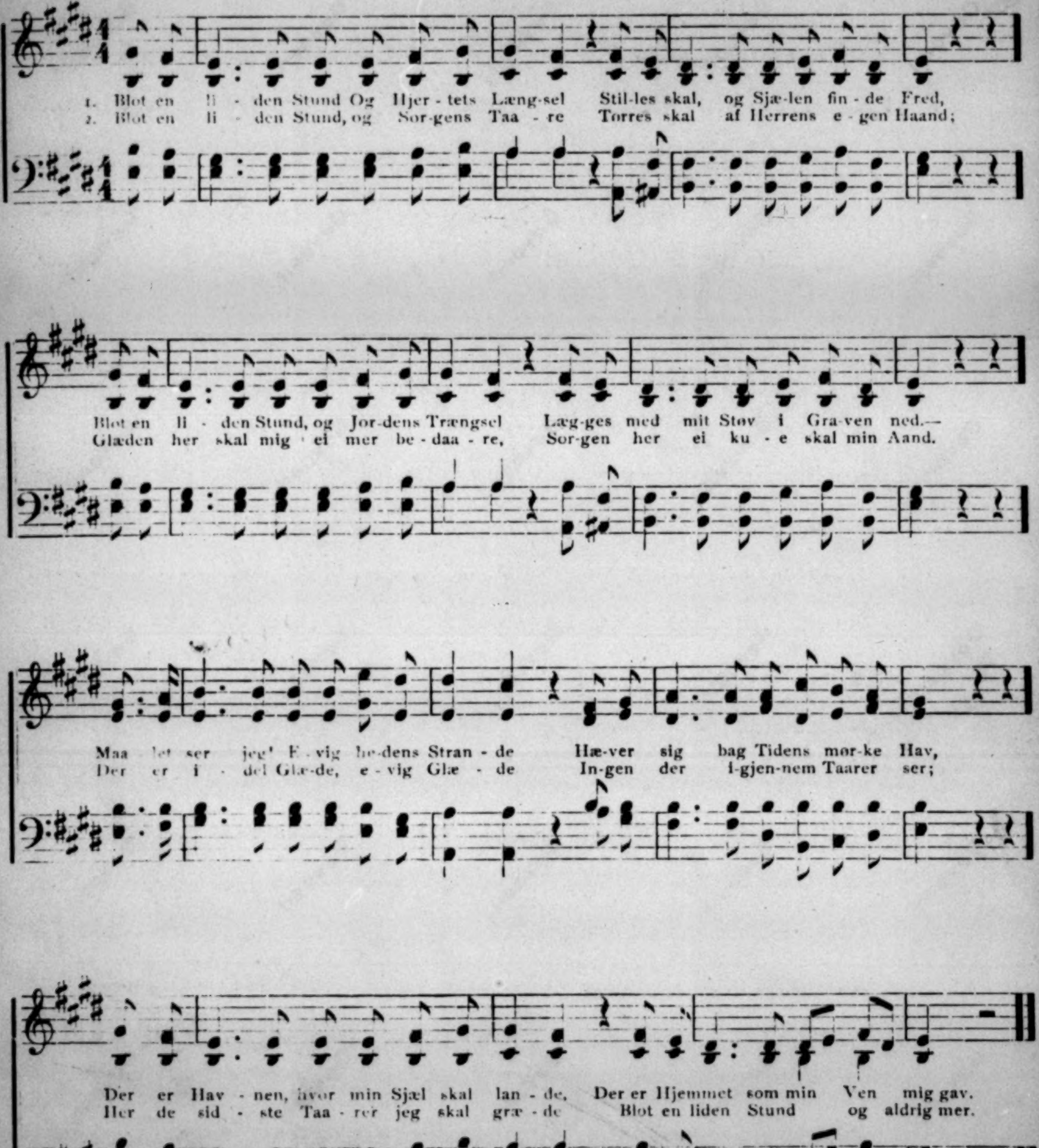
Plate XXI

PLATE XXI

Blot en liden Stund.

M. Falk Gjertson. O. Ahnfelt.


1. Blot en li - den Stund Og Hjer - tets Læng-sel Stil-les skal, og Sjæ-len fin - de Fred,
2. Blot en li - den Stund, og Sor-gens Taa - re Torres skal af Herrens e - gen Haand;
Blot en li - den Stund, og Jor-dens Trængsel Læg-ges med mit Støv i Gra-ven ned.—
Glæden her skal mig ei mer be-daa - re, Sor-gen her ei ku - e skal min Aand.
Maa - let ser jeg! E - vig-he-dens Stran - de Hæ-ver sig bag Tidens mør-ke Hav,
Der er i - del Glæ-de, e - vig Glæ - de In-gen der i-gjen-nem Taarer ser;
Der er Hav - nen, hvor min Sjæl skal lan - de, Der er Hjemmet som min Ven mig gav.
Her de sid - ste Taa - rer jeg skal græ - de Blot en liden Stund og aldrig mer.

3. Blot en liden Stund, og Kampen ender,
Skjold og Pantser snart jeg lægger ned,
Palmegrene faar jeg da i Hænder,
Livets Seierskrands i Hjelmens Sted.
Blot en liden Stund thi Stormens Brusen
Naar ei ind i Salighedens Land,
Ingen Storm, blot Fredens stille Susen
Vifter over fra den anden Strand.

4. Blot en liden Stund, og jeg skal skue
Vennen med det kære Frelsernavn;
O, hvor kan jeg da for Døden grue,
Naar den bringer mig i Jesu Favn!
Ja, han kommer snart og hjem mig henter,
Evighedens Morgen er alt nær,—
Herre Jesu! paa dit Bud jeg venter,
Lad mig snart faa se dig, som du er.

it exerted a great deal of influence on the taste of the people who used it--an influence which was not always fortunate. It was the recognition of this influence which caused the Norwegian Synod to refuse to distribute through its publishing house "such books as Harpen and Frydetoner." It is true that Frydetoner contained some worthy music. The people who were already possessed of musical taste and standards probably chose the good music--if they used Frydetoner. But the good music was indiscriminately mixed with much more music that was not good. The large percentage of people who have not developed any standards of taste of their own have no reason to use anything except what comes with the least effort. These people also were served by Frydetoner. In the long run this was not to the benefit of the church.

One collection deserves special mention because it does not easily classify in either of the categories above. It is called Laudate, and is a collection of spiritual songs for the male choir, all in Norwegian. It was compiled and edited by H. N. Hendrickson of Augsburg Seminary, who had some assistance from F. Melius Christiansen.[27] Several of the chorale arrangements are his, as well as some other compositions. The usual complement of songs by Ahnfelt are balanced by others of more solid quality by Wennerberg and Mendelssohn. Wagner is represented also with the "Pilgrim's Chorus," from *Tannhäuser*. The documentation of sources, the printing of the music and general appearance of the book point to the hand of a careful editor.

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[27] It was published in Minneapolis in 1908.

5. The Contribution of F. Melius Christiansen

A younger contemporary of John Dahle, and one who was destined to have a longer-lasting influence on the Norwegian Lutheran church, was F. Melius Christiansen. Christiansen was the first of the Norwegian-Americans interested in church music to concentrate all his efforts in the field of music. Dahle, who had come the closest to doing this before Christiansen, was primarily a school teacher. In the nature of events it was no doubt provident that Dahle preceded Christiansen onto the scene. A musician with Christiansen's temperament would have had a more difficult time if he had had to face the primitive circumstances which Dahle encountered in the early 'eighties. By the time that Christiansen began to make his principal contribution to the Norwegian-American musical scene--after 1905--Dahle, and to a lesser extent Jensen and other early choral leaders, had been at work for twenty-five years. Even Christiansen's years at

Augsburg, in the early and middle 'nineties, were purely preparatory to his major contribution, which was to be the idealization of the unaccompanied choir in the choral field, and in the field of choral literature, the creation of a style of composition based on the chorale.[28]

F. Melius Christiansen was born in 1871 in Larvik, Norway. By the time he came to America in 1888 he had become proficient in playing the violin and the organ. He settled in Minneapolis and studied at Augsburg College, then the Northwestern Conservatory of Music in the same city, from which he was graduated in 1895. His chief musical efforts in all these years centered about the violin. He did a little choral composing, but the compositions were only the early efforts of one who had not yet found himself. What was more important was the beginning of his involvement in directing choirs. He took part in the organizing and forming of Det Norske Lutherske Sangerforbund (The Norwegian Lutheran Singers' Union)--for which, as we noted above, Erik Jensen had issued the first fascicles of his Klokketoner. He also directed the choir at Trinity Lutheran Church, of which the Rev. M.

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28. One should not, however, underestimate the influence of these years in the shadow of Augsburg and the friends of the Free Church movement on the thinking of a young man who was still in his early twenties.

Falk Gjertsen was the pastor. In 1897 he went to Leipzig to study. He stayed two years, specializing in the violin. In 1903 he began to teach at St. Olaf College. He was still principally an instrumentalist. It was not to be many years, however, before his focus shifted from instruments to voices.

Christiansen's compositions up to this point are not of primary significance for this study. He was still an amateur in this field. He had not studied composition seriously. What he did write was completely in the spirit of the times. The year 1905 marks a change. That year *he published Fem Koraler, udsatte for blandet Kor, Menighed og Orgel* (Minneapolis) (Five Chorales, arranged for Choir, Congregation and Organ). The three German chorales are Bach harmonizations, the two Scandinavian ones are Christiansen's. What he says in the foreword is of interest.

> "Ludvig Erk (1850), in his edition of *Bachs Choralgesänge und geistliche Arien*, complains that in earlier editions of these same songs there has been little effort to reproduce them as nearly like the originals as possible. Instead, they have been reproduced in chorale books for organ or piano, altered according to the style and form of the times --'*Für den Gebrauch auf der Orgel oder dem Clavier nach dem damals üblichen Zuschnitt su formen*.'
> He says further: J. S. Bach did not arrange his chorales to be used this way; rather, they were arranged for four part singing, and, as a rule, they belonged in, and were used as parts of, his oratorios,

> cantatas and motets. And, when J. E. Matthew says, in his History of Music (p. 157), that these chorales were written so the congregation also could take part, the reader will understand that the title on the present collection is justified.
>
> Joh. Seb. Bach arranged most of the usable chorales of his time, and there has not been a single person of note to this day who has not acknowledged him as the most learned contrapuntist who has ever lived . . .
>
> Of the chorales written after Bach which are in use among us the editor is unaware of any settings in contrapuntal arrangements. Two of these chorales--one from the Danish and one from the Norwegian period--are here arranged in four parts by the editor to find out how these hymns will sound in this style . ."[29]

We shall return to this foreword shortly.

Leola Nelson Bergmann, in her book about Christiansen, says that he began to think seriously about the chorale when he was directing choirs in the 'nineties. He felt that the Bach arrangements were too difficult to sing and the Lindeman arrangements too organistic to sing. "The disadvantages of these arrangements became more and more apparent to Christiansen, and he realized that new arrangements must be made for the average church choir if this genre of music was not to fall into disuse. His desire to take a middle course between Bach's too difficult arrangements of the chorales and Lindeman's organ arrangements was the motive for his second period

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29. Translated by the author. A photostat of the original is in Appendix A, p. 347 . 347

of study in Germany."[30] He spent ten more months in Leipzig in 1906-07, this time studying composition with Gustav Schreck. The idea of using the chorale, with all its manifold associations and its possibilities for church music continued to germinate within him. When he returned to the States he and Dr. J. N. Kildahl, the president of St. Olaf College, launched their Sang-Gudstjenester (Song Services)--a combination of choral and congregational singing and brief talks that harmonized in thought with waht was sung.[31] The first one took place in 1907. One of the numbers on the program was Ludvig Lindeman's Sørg, O kjaere Fader, du, which was one of the pilot numbers Christiansen had published two years previously in Fem Koraler.

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30. Music master of the Middle West. The Story of F. Melius Christiansen and the St. Olaf Choir (Minneapolis, 1944), p. 104. The author is indebted to this book also for biographical information included here. This book is the most comprehensive study in print on Christiansen and the St. Olaf Choir. Other studies have also been made of Christiansen and the choir, notably Eugene E. Simpson, A History of St. Olaf Choir (Minneapolis, 1921). Further bibliography is included on pages 202-209 of Mrs. Bergmann's book. Also included in the back of her book is a list of Dr. Christiansen's publications. Unaccountably missing from the list, however, is Christiansen and Urseth's Korsangeren (1901).

31. These were the song services which Dahle had forecast, in principle, twelve years earlier. See above, p. 271.

Christiansen was obviously unacquainted with Lindeman's ideas regarding his own hymn tunes. Lindeman wanted to burden these tunes with as little part writing as possible. Christiansen's version does just the opposite, and the effect is one of weight whereas Lindeman had wanted lightness and fleetness[32] (see Plate XXII). What Christiansen meant in his foreword to Fem Koraler when he spoke about the congregation's participating in singing the Bach chorales is not clear. It does not seem likely that he had in mind that the congregation should also sing the parts. Certainly his arrangements do not lend credence to this idea. However,

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[32] Lindeman's tunes have been discussed above, p.90 . That Christiansen was not aware in 1905 of Lindeman's ideas with respect to his tunes is understandable, since Melodier til Brorsons Svanesang, the book edited by Lindeman's sons, in which his ideas are most clearly brought out, was not published until 1912. A comparison of the hymns in Plate XXII with Lindeman's versions in Plate VIII, p. 93, will immediately reveal the difference in treatment. After publishing Fifty Famous Hymns, arranged for Ladies' Voices in 1914, in which he used some of his Lindeman arrangements, Christiansen apparently decided that the tunes did not lend themselves to this baroque treatment. Anyway, it is worth noting that the only Lindeman melody he arranged for the St. Olaf Choir Series was "Built on a Rock"--the one tune which Lindeman wrote which is decidedly different in character from the rest of his tunes--and even this one he did not give the same sort of polyphonic handling which he accorded "Praise to the Lord" and "Wake, Awake."

PLATE XXII

Sang-Gudstjeneste #1

6. Sørg, o kjære Fader, du.

Arr. Christiansen

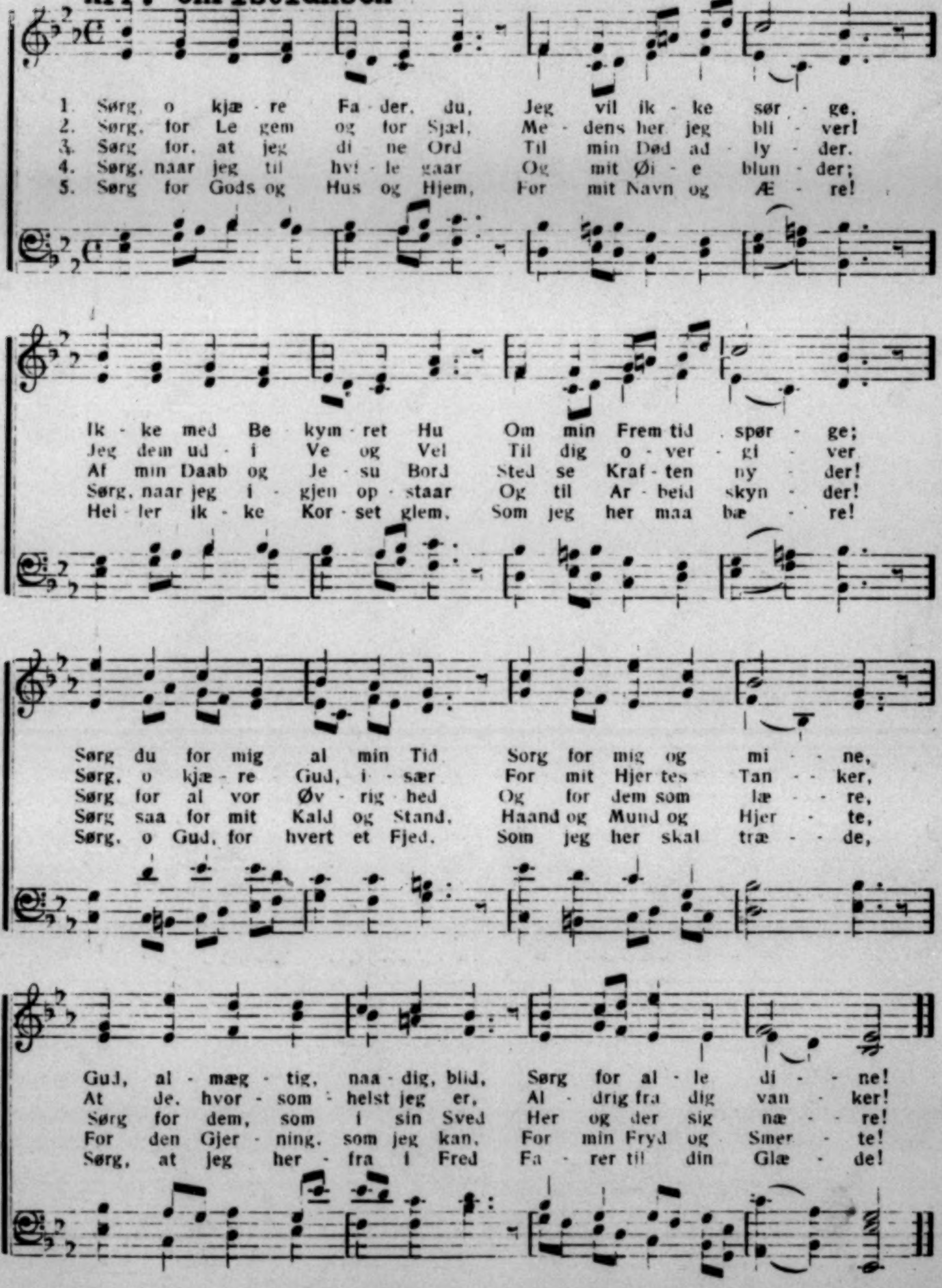
1. Sørg, o kjære Fader, du, Jeg vil ikke sørge,
2. Sørg, for Legem og for Sjæl, Medens her jeg bliver!
3. Sørg for, at jeg dine Ord Til min Død adlyder.
4. Sørg, naar jeg til hvile gaar Og mit Øie blunder;
5. Sørg for Gods og Hus og Hjem, For mit Navn og Ære!
Ikke med Bekymret Hu Om min Fremtid spørge;
Jeg dem udi Ve og Vel Til dig overgiver
Af min Daab og Jesu Bord Sted se Kraften nyder!
Sørg, naar jeg igjen opstaar Og til Arbeid skynder!
Heller ikke Korset glem, Som jeg her maa bære!
Sørg du for mig al min Tid, Sorg for mig og mine,
Sørg, o kjære Gud, især For mit Hjertes Tanker,
Sørg for al vor Øvrighed Og for dem som lære,
Sørg saa for mit Kald og Stand, Haand og Mund og Hjerte,
Sørg, o Gud, for hvert et Fjed, Som jeg her skal træde,
Gud, almægtig, naadig, blid, Sørg for alle dine!
At de, hvorsomhelst jeg er, Aldrig fra dig vanker!
Sørg for dem, som i sin Sved Her og der sig nære!
For den Gjerning, som jeg kan, For min Fryd og Smerte!
Sørg, at jeg herfra i Fred Farer til din Glæde!

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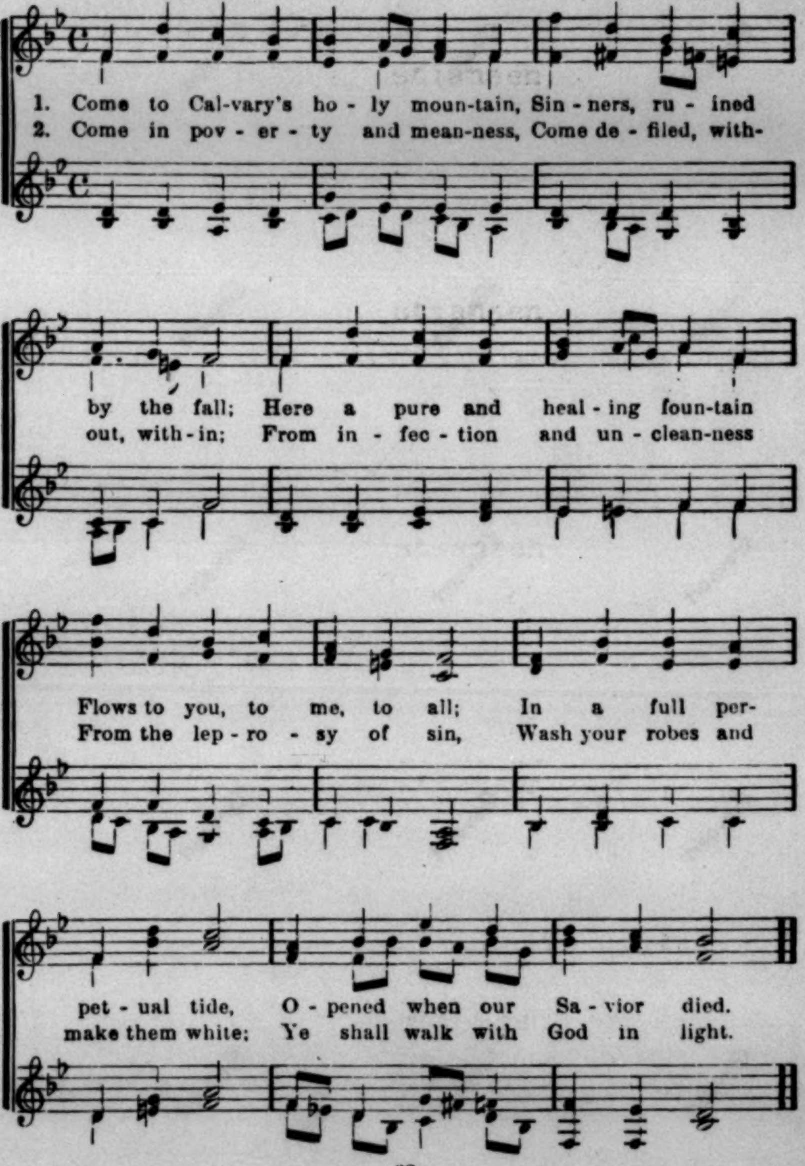
PLATE XXII

50 Famous Hymns
Arr. Christiansen

28. Come to Calvary's Holy Mountain.

J. MONTGOMERY. LUDV. M. LINDEMAN.


1. Come to Cal-vary's ho - ly moun-tain, Sin - ners, ru - ined
2. Come in pov - er - ty and mean-ness, Come de - filed, with-
by the fall; Here a pure and heal - ing foun-tain
out, with-in; From in - fec - tion and un - clean-ness
Flows to you, to me, to all; In a full per-
From the lep - ro - sy of sin, Wash your robes and
pet - ual tide, O - pened when our Sa - vior died.
make them white; Ye shall walk with God in light.
32

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answering this question is not of great moment here. Of more importance is his interest in this form of the chorale.

He was beginning to view the chorale more and more with the composer's eye. It provided excellent opportunities for choral arrangements, and, included in the congregational hymnal with slightly polyphonic arrangements, it could serve to heighten the musical appreciation of the man in the pew.[33] In effect, Christiansen was advocating an approach to the chorale which was the opposite of that advocated by the rhythmic chorale proponents in the Synod. Whereas they urged the use of the pristine chorale with its free rhythm, Christiansen favored the form the choral had assumed in its period of decadence because this form lent itself better to his growing preoccupation with it as a compositional medium. In its rhythmic form the chorale could not have been handled as Christiansen wanted to handle it or as he had been trained to handle it. That he was acquainted with the chorale in its rhythmic form is quite evident. He

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33. In answer to his critics on the hymnal committee who thought his arrangements too difficult, Christiansen replied that Lutheran congregations ought to learn to sing more difficult music, and that unless they were presented with it in their hymnal they would never rise above their present level. Bergmann, op. cit., p. 108.

had the Behrens book on the subject.[34] And he was surely acquainted with the Synod efforts in that direction. However, if he had espoused the cause of the chorale in that form instead of in its isorhythmic form the whole course of his later composition would have been changed. His compositions based on chorales, as they are known today, would have been impossible.

The Hymnary committee accepted nineteen of Christiansen's chorale harmonizations for inclusion in the book.[35] None of them are original Lindeman tunes. His harmonizations reveal his desire to write melodic lower voices. He thought horizontally rather than vertically. His tenor lines especially come off well as independent voices (see Plate XXIII). His bass lines proceed stepwise (see Plate XXIV). The soprano line is the unadorned melody. The alto part is usually the least well served. As was noted above, the rhythmic chorale was relegated to a secondary role in the book. Such tunes as In dulci jubilo and Wachet auf (Nos. 199 and 508), which were

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[34] The copy in the Rølvaag Library at St. Olaf College was his.

[35] Both the Hymnary (p. 662) and Mrs. Bergmann (p. 212) are in error when they credit Christiansen with harmonizing "Now lay we Calmly in the Grave" (Hymnary, No. 594). This tune and harmonization came from Erik Hoff's Melodibog (No. 193).

PLATE XXIII

First Sunday in Lent

4 Still must they leave God's word its might,
For which no thanks they merit;
Still is He with us in the fight,
With His good gifts and Spirit.
And should they, in the strife,
Take kindred, goods, and life,
We freely let them go,
They profit not the foe;
With us remains the kingdom.

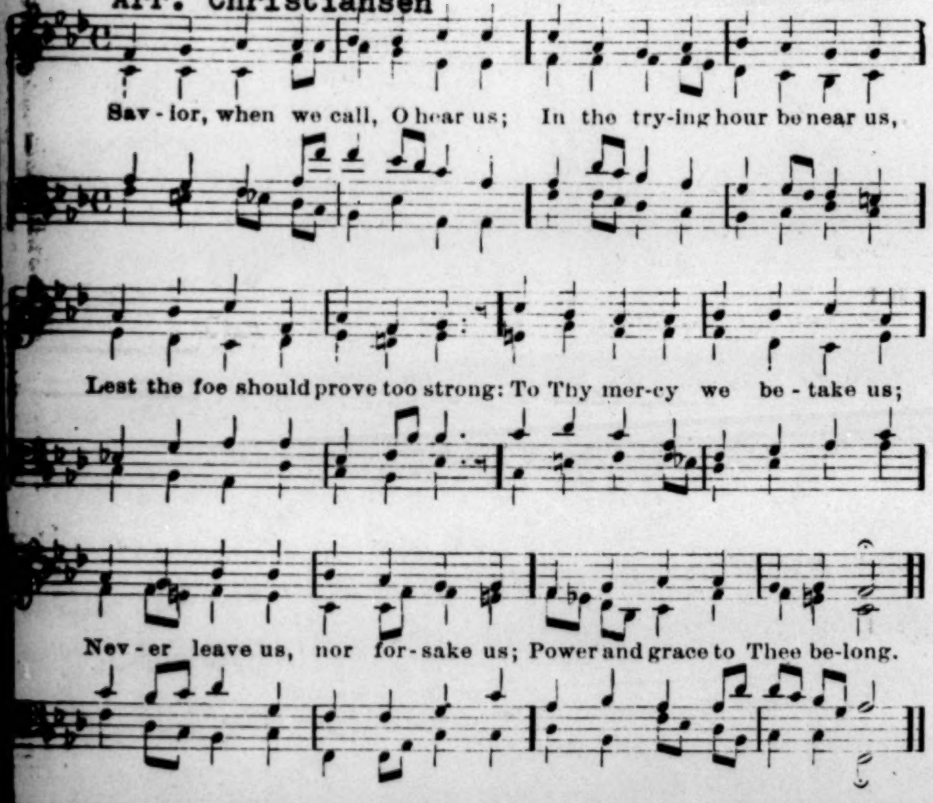
M. Luther, 1529

271 8, 8, 7, 8, 8, 7.

Lutheran Hymnary

Zinck's Koralbog, 1801

Arr. Christiansen


Sav - ior, when we call, O hear us; In the try-ing hour be near us,
Lest the foe should prove too strong: To Thy mer-cy we be - take us;
Nev - er leave us, nor for - sake us; Power and grace to Thee be-long.

Other help than Thine we have not;
Other help than Thine we crave not;
'Tis enough if we have this:
This from every ill secures us;
Every blessing this ensures us;
More than life Thy favor is.

3 Keep us on Thy strength relying,
In Thy name the foe defying;
Till Thy coming bring us peace.
O how sweet the thought, and cheering,
In the day of Thine appearing
Trouble shall for ever cease.

T. Kelly, ca. 1845

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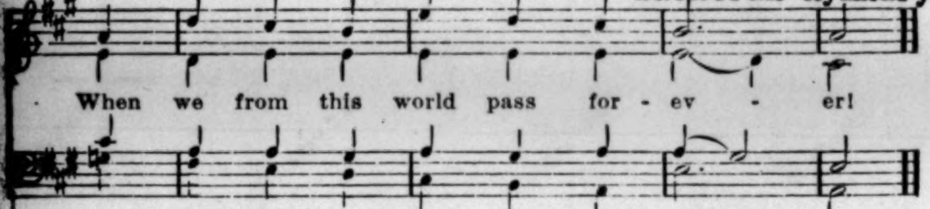
Plate XXIV

299

PLATE XXIV

Close of Service

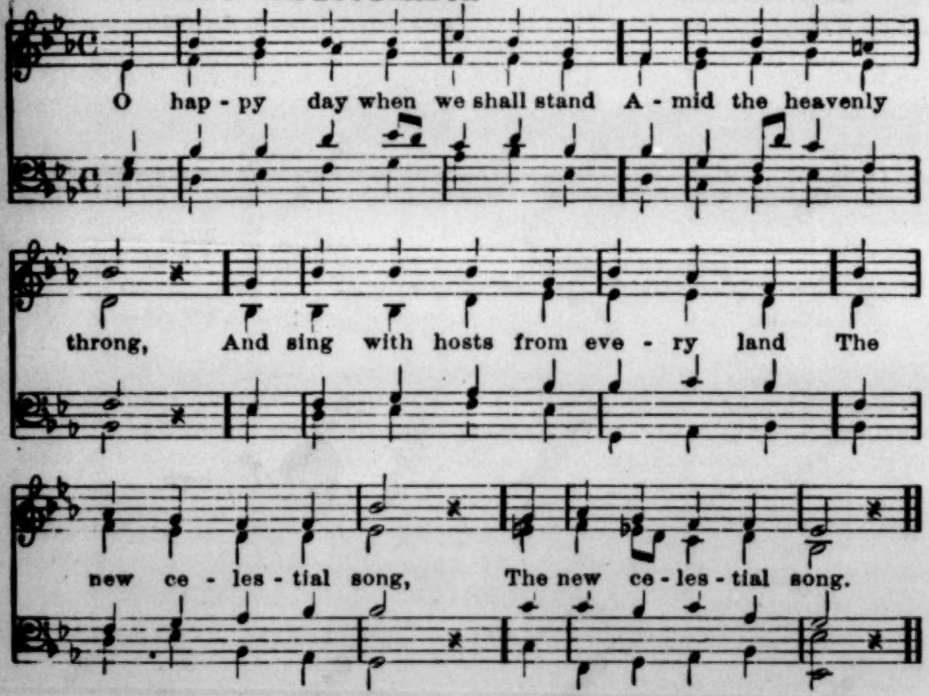
Lutheran Hymnary


When we from this world pass for - ev - er!

2 O help us, dear Father, and Christ, Thou the Son,
That gladly our course we may finish!
And Thou, Holy Spirit, Thou comforting One,
Thy love in our hearts so replenish,
That we by Thy might
May fight the good fight,
Till won is the crown everlasting.

Martha Clausen, ca. 1830

52 C. M. Arr. Christiansen Nicolaus Hermann, 1560


O hap - py day when we shall stand A - mid the heavenly
throng, And sing with hosts from eve - ry land The
new ce - les - tial song, The new ce - les - tial song.

2 O blessed day! From far and near
The servants of the Lord
Shall meet the ransomed millions there
|: Who heard God's saving word.:|

3 O what a mighty, rushing flood
Of love without surcease,
Shall roll about the throne of God
|:In joy and endless peace!:|

4 God, may Thy bounteous grace inspire
Our hearts so that we may
All join the heavenly, white-robed
|:Upon that glorious day.:| [choir

W. A. Wexels, 1846

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commonly being sung in rhythmic form anyway, were set rhythmically in the Hymnary. Other rhythmic forms appeared as alternates, e.g., Allein Gott and Wer nur den lieben Gott (Nos. 2 and 230).

Of the two main bodies of compositions which came from Christiansen's hand shortly after he returned from Leipzig, in addition to his hymnal work, the first was the Song Services (Minneapolis). They ran to seven in number and kept coming out until 1916. Compositions in them were mixed English and Norwegian. They included such well-known works as "Beautiful Savior," "Praise to the Lord," "Built on a Rock," "Wake, Awake," and others. These were the works on which his renown as a composer came to be based. In them he struck a responsive chord among the Norwegian Lutherans. These were some of the kjaernesalmer that had been dear to them. To hear them sung in these arrangements by a highly trained group of singers who achieved a perfection hitherto undreamed of was a soul-stirring experience.

His other group of compositions, issued during the same years, was called Lette Lyrisk Religiøse Sange (Minneapolis) (Light, Lyrical Religious Songs). The title describes them well. They did not have the traditional line of the chorale to give them stability and direction. They never won the recongition that the chorale arrangements did. In them we hear again the lyrical strain typical of earlier Norwegian composers, the changes of pace within the piece, the delicate, sentimental nuances scorned by the more masculine chorale. Typical of the pieces in this collection are "Today there is Ringing" and "O Beautiful Yuletide."

By virtue of his native gifts, a compositional technique coupled with imagination and a superbly trained instrument--the choir--Christiansen made a mark on the Norwegian-American scene the total effects of which are difficult to assess even today. He fulfilled the objective of making the people conscious of the musical worth of the chorale, but it was the chorale in a highly individualistic form. It was not the universal, congregational chorale.

Christiansen was a free spirit. It is significant that his early years in America were spent among "the friends of Augsburg." He would have been out of place in the tradition-minded Synod. He broke with the traditions of his Norwegian predecessors in America to launch a new type of choir and write a new choral literature. But, it was a literature which carried within it the overtones of his Norwegian heritage. Emotionally grounded in Norway, he was, nonetheless, uniquely endowed, by gifts, training and temperament, to usher Norwegian Lutheran music into its American phase--at the same time as the church, its recent immigrant history still fresh, was hopefully launching its own American venture.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study began with a survey of the political, cultural and musical life of Norway in the nineteenth century. Having been tied to Denmark for the four hundred years prior to 1814, Norway suddenly found herself, after the release from Danish rule in 1814, possessed of the fact of nationhood but without the substance. Although technically linked to Sweden, she was virtually free, but did not have the institutions of freedom--an established government, an educational system, a developed culture, a sound economy. In her haste to achieve these and a measure of self-identity, Norway laid stress on distinguishing herself from other nations, borrowing ideas where she found them but striving to maintain her integrity in the process. She called on her poets and artists to create the Norwegian image, and they did their best to do so, being aided in their efforts by the tide of romanticism which was sweeping not only Norway but all of Europe, idealizing each nation's past and promising much for her future.

The key figures in Norway's musical life produced their work in the aura generated by national romanticism. Ole Bull created a Norwegian legend abroad, while at home Halfdan Kjerulf quietly and methodically fashioned a Norwegian song literature impregnated with the lyrical feeling of the folk music. Rikard Nordraak, dying prematurely himself, nevertheless voiced the idea which inspired his compatriot, Edvard Grieg, to construct an enduring musical structure out of Norwegian building materials. And Grieg succeeded to the extent of putting Norway on the musical map of the world. Johan D. Behrens, sensing the spirit of the times, applied his energies to the founding of a national movement of massed singing which was as much social as it was musical, and which simultaneously rode and supported the wave of nationalism.

In the field of church music the main element was the chorale, and over the question of what form it should have the musicians parted company, some saying that a return to the use of the chorale in its original rhythmic form was necessary, others maintaining that to go back in history to that form of the chorale was only to regress. Ludvig M. Lindeman, the dominant figure in church music in nineteenth century Norway, subscribed to the latter view, and his voice decided the issue. The rhythmic chorale, as a living, practical medium of congregational expression, was doomed. It was Lindeman who was commissioned to produce the official chorale book for the church of Norway. He did this with all the skill and learning at his command--a skill and learning based on a sound, classical, sophisticated education in music. His chorale book was characterized by nineteenth century artistic refinement. It received the stamp of approval not only of the government but also of the musical authorities in that nineteenth century citadel of musical learning--Leipzig.

Yet, when Lindeman composed his own original melodies, he used the spontaneous language of the country. Though not the language of folk music, it nevertheless had the lilt and lyricism of folk music. It combined the sophistication of cultured music with the native bloom of uncultured music. Lindeman's tunes struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the people. They knew nothing about the rhythmic chorale and probably would have cared little for its theories--however right they might be. All they knew was that Lindeman's tunes appealed to them and they were satisfied that his arrangements of the chorales were better than what they had had, and that was enough.

The issue of the rhythmic chorale, laid to rest in the church of Norway, was revived in the Norwegian church in America. Here the tortuous path toward a unified musical expression in church was beset by theological and economic difficulties as well. The Norwegian Synod, strongest of the Norwegian-American Lutheran bodies and earliest to make a determined, constructive effort toward bettering the music in church, was guided by individuals who saw in the restoration of the rhythmic chorale their hope for improving the singing in church. They were strengthened in their ideas and their resolve by other proponents of the rhythmic chorale among the Germans in St. Louis. Their early efforts to get a chorale book came to naught and they became engulfed in theological debates which pushed aside all other considerations for a quarter of a century.

In the meantime, the most significant private effort to provide a book of melodies for the church came from a man who had turned his back on the rhythmic chorale and had cast his lot with Lindeman. Perhaps Erik Jensen, like Lindeman, had his finger on the pulse of the people. Whatever the truth of the matter was, he helped greatly to establish Lindeman in America until Lindeman's book was officially adopted here. We have John Dahle's witness to the widespread use of Lindeman's tunes among the Norwegians in America.

The Norwegian Synod made three attempts to establish a beachhead for the rhythmic chorale in the Norwegian Lutheran church, but their efforts were largely in vain. Most of the reasons put forward for the rejection of the rhythmic chorale centered about the difficulty of singing the chorale in that form. In point of fact, they could, with few exceptions, have been sung as easily as some of Lindeman's tunes. A more likely reason for their rejection was their strangeness. They were an alien plant in Norwegian soil, and the fact that they had strong support from pastors who had studied at the German seminary in St. Louis did nothing to recommend them to the Norwegians. But most of all, they just did not captivate the people as Lindeman did. It was not a reasoned rejection. It was an intuitive one, based on the feelings which had been nurtured from childhood on the tunes of the homeland--tunes from the folk singer and player, who gave inspiration to Kjerulf and Grieg and Lindeman, who in turn touched the same emotional strings when they created music for their countrymen to sing and play.

It was the same intuition which, coupled with an acquaintance with Norwegian music, determined the nature of the musical language of F. Melius Christiansen. He also "discovered" the chorale, and he applied to his shaping of it the learning he had acquired in Germany--but colored with the same lyrical strain which was characteristic of Kjerulf and Lindeman.

No doubt, the same intuition played a large role in shaping the character and deciding the content of The Lutheran Hymnary in 1913. Having been kept apart for two generations by theological controversies, the Norwegians in America were drawn together by "the common need for an adequate and satisfactory English hymn book" (from the Preface to the Hymnary). In the compilation of the book both the diversity and the unity in the backgrounds of the compilers became evident.

The diversity was shown by the nod--but hardly more than that--in the direction of the rhythmic chorale. Although they did not succeed in establishing the chorale in that form as a significant element in Norwegian-American music, the Synod representatives, buttressed by Christiansen's interest in the chorale, did succeed in placing on the Hymnary a strongly Lutheran and solidly musical stamp. It was the same emphasis which had been evident in all the earlier publications of the Synod, in contrast with the overly ecumenical, less judicious emphasis which was evident in the various musical publications that came from members of the Hauge and United synods. But, the dominant influence in the whole book was that of Ludvig Lindeman. Immediately evident is the isorhythmic form of the chorale which he had established in Norway, and with it many of his harmonizations.

However, if Lindeman was the symbol of diversity within the committee, he was also the reason for an underlying unity. The inclusion of no fewer than thirty of his own compositions in the book underlined the fact that the members of the committee realized that his was still the single most important voice in the music of the Norwegian Lutheran church. The language of the heart was still the language spoken by Norwegian music. Although the Norwegians united on an English hymnal in 1913, and in 1917 established what was essentially an American church, musically and emotionally they were still close to Norway. As the years succeed in separating them from the narrowly nationalistic ties of their heritage, the broader appeal of that heritage may yet create the climate in which the more universal language of the rhythmic chorale could flourish.

APPENDIX A

FOREWORDS

Foreword to Lindeman's Koralbog, 1877

Forord.

J nærværende Koralbog til Landſtads Salmebog ere de i Aaret 1871 paa offentlig Foranſtaltning udgivne Melodier i rythmiſk Form ſamt 10 andre optagne og efter det høie Kirke-Departements Ønſke ordnede alfabetiſk efter Overſkrifterne i Salmebogen uden Henſyn til om de opførte Melodi-Salmer findes i Salmebogen eller ikke.

Med Henſyn til Foredraget af Melodierne gjentager jeg her min tidligere Bemærkning, at de bør udføres i ſtreng Takt, og ikke i et langſommere Tempo, end at Taktens tunge og lette Tider — Nedtakt og Optakt — (Theſis og Arſis) tydelig føles og følges, hurtigere i de Melodier, der hiſt og her har lange Noder, og i dem, ſom har til Fortegning Allabreve-Tegnet 𝄵, end i de øvrige med Firefjerdedels-Tegnet 𝄴. Melodier i tredelt Akt ere i Regelen livligere end de i todelt. Tempoet kan derfor nærme ſig det jævne og rolige, ſekundviſe Pulsſlag, ♩ = 60 Mälzels Metronom, eller lidt derunder, alt efter Omſtændighederne.

De Toner der ere punkterede d. e. forlængede ved et Punkt efter Noden for at belive Melodien og for at markere Sætningerne og Periodebygningen, maa udføres med den nødvendige, afmaalte, taktmæsſige Nøiagtighed og med den tilbørlige Ro og Værdighed, ſaaledes at der til ♩. ♪ tilſammentaget tælles nøiagtigt 4 Ottendedele, altſaa 3 til førſte Node ♩. = ♪♪♪. De ſom ikke kunne udføre en punkteret Node med den ſtrenge Nøiagtighed og Ro, eller ſom ville holde ſig til det Tilvante, eller ſom maaſke endog anſe alle mere bevægelige melodiſke Figurer — altſaa ogſaa denne — for ukirkelig, kunne da uden videre udelade Punkten og foredrage Melodien paa den gamle Maade med lige lange Toner, altſaa ♩ ♩ iſtedetfor ♩. ♪.

Skjøndt der efter Sætningernes Endenoder er anbragt Pauſer — nødvendige for Aandedraget — iſtedetfor de i Koralerne ſædvanligt ſkrevne Fermater, ſaa følger dog deraf ikke, at det ved Foredraget paa Orgelet altid er nødvendigt at pauſere med alle Stemmer; thi Noden med følgende Pauſe — iſær naar der ſpilles med fuldt Værk — kan i øverſte Stemme udholdes, medens de øvrige Stemmer pauſere, ſaa at altſaa f. Ekſ. Melodiens Ottendedelsnode med følgende Pauſe ſpilles ſom en Fjerdedelsnode, — ♩ iſtedetfor ♪ 𝄾.

Som bekjendt ſkulle Koralerne paa Orgelet foredrages i det ſtrengeſte Legato d. e. nøie ſammenbundet. Men fra denne Regel kan der undtagelſesvis afviges, hvor der for Tydeligheds Skyld fordres, at Nedtakten (Theſis) ſkal markeres. J dette Tilfælde forkortes i Basſen den foregaaende Optakt (Arſis) hvad enten denne har den ſamme Node ſom dens følgende Nedtakt eller ikke. Der ſpilles altſaa i Basſen ſaaledes ♪ 𝄾 | ♩ iſtedetfor ♩|♩. Det ſamme er ogſaa Tilfældet, hvor en punkteret Node ikke bliver forſtaaelig ved de andre Stemmer, idet den indtræder paa ſamme Tid ſom Basſen har en og ſamme Tone. Her kan da Punkteringen markeres i Basſen ved at ſpille ♩ 𝄾 ♪ iſtedetfor ♩. ♪; thi vilde man i Basſen ſpille ♩ ♩ eller ♪ 𝄼 ♩ i den Tanke at erſtatte Taktſlaget, ſaa vilde ingen Menighed derved kunne ledes til at fatte Punkteringen; men Menigheden vilde ſimpelthen følge den markerede lige Bevægelſe.

Da Koralerne ſom ſædvanligt, ſaaledes ogſaa her, ere ſkrevne for de 4 Sangſtemmer: Sopran, Alt, Tenor og Baſs, ſaa maa Fordelingen af Stemmerne paa Orgelet eller Pianoet ſke efter enhvers Bekvemmelighed, ſaaledes at f. Ekſ. hvor der ſpilles manualiter ſom paa et Pianoforte, Tenorſtemmen, der ſtaar opadvendt paa Basſyſtemet, gribes ſom det falder bekvemmeſt, ſnart med venſtre Haand og ſnart med høire. Undertiden kan Basſen, for at kunne gribes ſammen med Tenoren, tages en Oktav høiere.

Hvad Harmoniſeringen angaar, ſaa har jeg ſøgt at bevare den nødvendige Ro og Værdighed ſamt Klarhed og Afvekſling, for at Melodierne belyſte og belivede kunne fremtræde ſom et ſammenhængende Helt. Da Melodiernes Harmoniſering kan ſke paa mange Maader, ſaa følger det af ſig ſelv, at Organiſten, naar han er i Beſiddelſe af den nødvendige muſikalſke og harmoniſke Indſigt og Dygtighed, kan ved de forſkjellige Forhold og Tilfælde ſom og til større Afvekſling — endog til hvert Vers — benytte forandret Harmoni. Hvor derimod ſaadan Dygtighed ikke kan forudſættes, maa det fordres at den foreſkrevne Harmoni nøiagtigen følges.

Efter Foranledning af det høie Departement er der i et Anhang optaget en Del af de gamle Kirkeſange i den ældre ſaakaldte rythmiſke Form og med den ældre Harmoniſering. Og ſkjøndt jeg finder baade disſes rythmiſke Form og den harmoniſke eller kontrapunktiſke Behandling — kontrapunktiſk af de Gamle ſelv benævnet — ſaare mangelfuld og undertiden feilagtig — ſaa vilde jeg dog gjerne, om Pladſen i Anhanget havde tilladt det, have leveret et større Antal af diſſe gamle Kirkekompoſitioner end ſkeet er, - nemlig ſom Bidrag til Kjendſkab og Forſtaaelſe af Kirkekompoſitionerne fra det 16de Aarhundrede. Imidlertid leveres her de gamle Melodier ſaavidt muligt ſaaledes ſom diſſe ere ſtrevne og tillæmpede til Kor- og Menighedsſange af berømte Komponiſter fra Slutten af det 16de og Begyndelſen af det 17de Aarhundrede. Komponiſternes eller rettere Harmoniſternes Tillæmpninger er hovedſagelig ſkeet ved at lægge Hoved-Melodien øverſt i Diſkanten, en Forandring uden hvilken Menigheden ikke kunde følge Sangen. Og den førſte, ſom i dette Øiemed begyndte hermed, var Lucas Oſiander, der herom yttrer til ſin Undſkyldning, at Melodien, ved efter Komponiſternes Maade at lægges i Tenoren, bliver under de andre Stemmer ukjendelig, og at den menige Mand ikke forſtaar, hvad det er for en Salme, og at han ikke kan ſynge med. (S. Ambros Muſikhiſtorie III p. 563).

Men da der ſelv i diſſe tillæmpede Kompoſitioner dog forekommer ſaadanne Vendinger, hvorved baade Harmoni og Melodi bliver uklar, og den ſidſte paa ſine Steder endog umulig for en Menighed at fatte og gjengive muſikalſk rigtig, naar f. Ekſ. Alt-Stemmen ſtriber over Diſkanten, eller naar der indtræder vanſkelige Synkopationer i Melodien, eller ſamtidig i alle Stemmer, ſaa har jeg heri maattet foretage de nødvendige Ændringer. Viſtnok frembyde diſſe Rykninger (Synkopationer) i den lige Takt — enten imod de øvrige Stemmer eller kun imod Taktſlaget — ingen Vanſkelighed for et Kor, der ledes af en Anfører; men de blive dog for Menigheden, der ſtaar udenfor al Ledning af en Anførers Taktſtok, umulig at gjengive — nemlig ſom Synkopationer; thi diſſe kunne kun indtræde ſom Rykninger imod den beſtaaende fortſatte Takt-Bevægelſe (motio continua) med Nedtakt og Optakt, Bevægelſe nedad og opad (Theſis og Arſis), idet Node-Kvantiteterne gaar i en Retning, og Taktbevægelſen, den fortſatte ſammenhængende Bevægelſe af Theſis og Arſis tilſammentaget (integer tactus) efter et lovbeſtemt Maal og rythmiſk regelbundet Forhold (mensura contentæ rationis) i en anden Retning. Ved en ſaadan Sang imod Takten vildledes Menigheden og falder ud af den, medens et Kor lettelig tilegner ſig ſlige Figurer og Vendinger. Diſſe Synkopationer altſaa, uagtet de hørte til Menſuraliſternes Finneſſer og ſpilte en ſtor Rolle i den hele Menſuralmuſik, har jeg — ſom uanvendelige i Menighedsſange — ikke kunnet beholde; og har derfor ſom ſagt efter det høie Departements Ønſke maattet foretage de efter min Mening nødvendige Ændringer. I Tilfælde af Forandringer er det Oprindelige tilføiet ſom Anmærkning. Metriſke Feil, urythmiſk eller uſymmetriſk Periodebygning, feilagtig Harmoni-Fremſkridning og Uſelvſtændighed i kontrapunktiſk Stemmeførelſe er kun undtagelſesvis ændret og rettet, fordi diſſe Feil ikke hindre eller vanſkeliggjør Afſyngelſen. Den af de Gamle ſaa ofte — iſær i Toneſtykkets Begyndelſe eller ved Afſlutninger — ſaa lidet yndede Ters, der vel endog betragtedes ſom verdslig, men ved hvis Udeladelſe Akkorden dog bliver tom og farveløs, har jeg tilſat i Klammer til Benyttelſe efter Behag.

Kan altſaa Præſt og Menighed finde ſig tilfredsſtillede ved diſſe efter min Mening i mange Henſeender ufuldkomne Produkter fra Kunſtens Barndom, ſaa er der nu Anledning til at benytte dem.

Foruden diſſe fra Korſangen tillæmpede Menighedsſange er ogſaa til Slutning optaget nogle gamle Sange alene for Kor — ſaavel til Forſtaaelſe af den gamle Korſang ſom og til Anvendelſe til ſærſkilt Kirkemuſik, naar Anledning dertil maatte tilbyde ſig.

De i Koralbogen anførte Menighedsſvar — Reſponſorier — var det at ønſke, om de Sangdygtige i Menigheden vilde lære og tilegne ſig, ſaa at de kunde komme til at lyde i Kirken med Selvſtændighed fra Menigheden ſelv.

Og hermed være Koralbogen anbefalet Menigheden til Opbyggelſe i Vorherres Jeſu Navn! Eph. 5, 19. 20.

Kriſtiania den 27de Oktober 1877.

Ludv. M. Lindeman.

Foreword to Lindeman:

Koralbog, 1877

Included in the present chorale book to Landstad's hymnal are the melodies in rhythmic form[1] which were made public in 1871, together with ten others, which, according to the wish of the Church Department, have been put in alphabetical order by title, regardless of whether a hymn with the same title was to be found in the hymnal.[2]

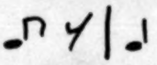
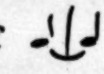
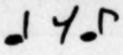
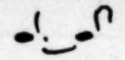
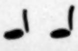
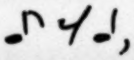
With regard to the performance of the melodies, I repeat what I said earlier, that they ought to be performed in strict time. They should not move at a slower tempo than that which will allow the heavy and light beats of the measure--downbeat and upbeat (thesis and arsis)--to be clearly felt and followed, faster in the melodies that have occasional long notes and in those with the allabreve signature ¢ than in those with the

1. Lindeman's rhythm, not the original rhythm.
2. Even if the original hymn, from which the tune got its name, was not in Landstad, the tune could still be used with another hymn of the same meter.

4/4 signature C. Melodies in triple meter move faster, as a rule, than those in duple meter. An average tempo, therefore, would be an even, quiet pulse beat of ♩ = 60 (Mälzels Metronome), or a little slower, depending on circumstances.

The dotted notes--i.e. those which are lengthened with a dot after the note to give life to the melody and set off the phrase and period structure--must be performed exactly as written, albeit with proper ease and dignity, so that ♩. ♪, taken together will total four eighth notes, or three to the first note, ♩. = ♪‿♪‿♪. Those who cannot execute a dotted note with exactitude and ease, or who prefer what they have been accustomed to, or who perhaps regard any more lively figures, such as this one, as being unchurchly, may simply ignore the dot and perform the melody in the former way with equal length notes, thus ♩ ♩ instead of ♩. ♪.

A rest is introduced at the end of a sentence for the purpose of drawing breath. This takes the place of the fermata formerly used in the old chorales. However, when playing the organ, it is not necessary to break in all four voices. The top voice may be held for the full quarter note value, especially with full organ, while the lower voices drop out and observe the rest.

As is already known, the hymn tunes should be played on the organ with the strictest legato touch, i.e. with the notes connected carefully. However, there may be exceptions to this rule when, for the sake of clarity, the downbeat (thesis) should be more marked. In this event the preceding up-beat (arsis) note in the bass should be shortened, whether or not it is the same note (i.e. scale step) as the following downbeat note. The notes would read thus:  instead of  . Another exception would occur in dotted notes when the melody would not be clearly heard entering on the eighth note if the bass had the same note. The bass notes should then read thus:  rather than ; for if the bass notes were to be played thus:  or , with the purpose of emphasizing the beat, the congregation would not be able to follow the dotted note values but would simply follow the equal length beats.

Since the chorales as usual are written for the four voices, soprano, alto, tenor and bass, the distribution of the four parts between the two hands on the organ or piano must be suited to the player. Thus, since the tenor is the highest voice on the bass staff, the player who is using manuals only will occasionally have to play it with his right hand rather than his left.

Likewise, in order to play more easily, he may occasionally play the bass notes an octave higher.

As far as the harmonization is concerned, I have tried to preserve a desirable calm and dignity, together with clarity and variety, so that the tunes, thus elucidated and animated, would appear as an integrated whole.

Since the melodies can be harmonized in many different ways, it follows that an organist who is possessed of the necessary musical knowledge and skill, may, depending upon circumstances, change harmonies within a hymn--even on each stanza--for the sake of greater variety. However, where the organist is not possessed of such skill, the given harmony should be followed exactly.

In accordance with the suggestion of the Department, a number of the old church songs in the older, so-called rhythmic, form and with the older harmonization, have been included in a supplement. Although I find both the rhythmic form and the harmonic or contrapuntal treatment--contrapuntal in the conception of the older generations--very deficient, and sometimes faulty in these compositions, yet, if space had allowed, I would have liked to include a larger number of them as a contribution to a knowledge and understanding of the sacred composition of the sixteenth century. However, these tunes are here included as nearly as possible as they were written and arranged by famous composers from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. For the most part, the settings of the composer--or, more correctly, of the arranger--place the melody in the soprano, or highest, voice. This was a change without which the congregation would not have been able to follow the melody. The first man to make this change was Lucas Osiander, who gave as his reason for doing so the fact that putting the melody in the tenor voice, as was customary, covered it up so the average man could not hear what the tune was and sing along. (S. Ambros, Musikhistorie III, p. 563).

Since there are places in these arrangements where the harmony and the melody are not clear, especially where the latter becomes impossible for a congregation to follow and sing correctly--for example, when the alto voice goes above the soprano, or when the melody, or all the voices, have difficult syncopations--I have been forced to make some changes. True, these interruptions (syncopations) offer no difficulty in duple meter to a choir which has a director--whether they occur against other voices or against the beat. But for a congregation to reproduce these, without direction, is impossible. For they can only occur as interruptions of the steady, even pulse (motio continua) of downbeat and upbeat (thesis and arsis), because the note values would indicate one movement and the pulse, or beat--i.e., the continuous, connected movement of thesis and arsis together (integer tactus) according to a fixed law (mensura condentae rationis)--would indicate a contrary movement. With such singing against the beat a congregation will go astray, whereas a choir can easily handle these figures and turns. These syncopations, therefore, although they were one of the refinements of the mensuralists and played a large part in mensural music, I have had to change for the sake of rendering the settings usable for the congregation. This is in line with the Department's wish that I make any changes considered necessary. Where changes have been made, the original forms have been noted. Metrical mistakes, unrhythmic or unsymmetrical period structure, incorrect harmonic progressions and a lack of independence in contrapuntal voice leading have only occasionally been changed and corrected because these mistakes do not hinder the singing or make it difficult. The third of the chord, the tierce, was so often omitted by the older generations, especially at the beginning and end of a piece--possibly because it was considered secular. However, since a chord sounds empty and colorless without it, I have added it in brackets and it may be used if desired.

If these pieces--which, to my way of thinking are in many respects the products of music's childhood-- appeal to pastor and people they now have the opportuhity to use them.

In addition to these congregational songs, which have been arranged from choral songs, a number of old pieces for choir only are included. They are added to broaden the understanding of this old choir music, and to be sung on appropriate occasions.

The congregational responses have been included in the chorale book in order to encourage those who can sing to master them so that the congregation itself can be heard taking part in them.

The chorale book is herewith commended to the congregation for its edification, in the name of our Lord Jesus. Ephesians 5: 19-20.

Kristiania, the 27th of October, 1877.

Ludv. M. Lindeman

PLATE XXVI

Foreword to Handerson's Chorale-Bog, 1866

M2132
.N5
H4
1866

Forord.

En Norſk Choral-Bog har længe været ſavnet blandt Landsmænd i Amerika, og denne Bog er et Forſøg paa at tilfredſtille dette Savn. Der er neppe nogen Nation i Amerika, blandt hvem Sangen baade i Kirken og Hjemmet er paa ſaa lavt et Trin ſom blandt de Norſke i Almindelighed. I Erkjendelſen heraf ſynes det da ogſaa at være paa Tide at man ſøger at gjengive de gamle Choralmelodier i deres Simpelhed og Storartighed det Liv, ſom en ſløv Tid har frapinet dem, ſaameget mere ſom en hyppigere Brug af desſe Mel. i Kirken og i Hjemmet visſelig vil være det virkſomſte Middel til at vække Intereſſen for vor ſaa dybt ſunkne Kirkeſang og til at løſte den op af den Dvale, hvori den i de ſidſte Aar har befundet ſig. Men for at faa gjenindført Mel. i deres oprindelige Form maa man førſt og fremſt ſøge at vække Opmærkſomheden derpaa hos Præſter, Organiſter, Kirkeſangere og Skolelærere, i det Haab, at disſe med Iver og Kyndighed ville antage ſig Sagen. Samtidig hermed maa Choralbogen ſøge Indpas i Læreanſtalter og Sangforeninger, hvor Intereſſen for den allerſnarſt vil vækkes. Naar man ad disſe Veie virker med Omhu, Indſigt og god Vilje, vil Trangen til at ſe den nuværende ſlæbende og udtryksløſe Sang afløſt af en friſk levende og udtryksfuld visſelig ſnart gjøre ſig gjeldende.

Nærværende Udgave indeholder en tilſtrækkelig Veiledning i Sang, ſaa at man deraf kan lære at ſynge efter Noder. Den indeholder ogſaa et tilſtrækkeligt antal af Melodier ſom nufortiden bruges for vore Pſalmer. Iblandt disſe Mel. er der Dur og Mol Melodier i ſamme Metrum. De ſmaa ziffre ſom ſtaar ſtrazt over enhver Mel., hentyder til hvor mange Stavelſer kunne bruges for hver Strophe, og de give en Veiledning til at ſinde de forſkillige Mel. ſom har den ſamme Verslængde.

De fleſte af Mel. ere i den ſamme Rythme ſom de oprindeligen være i gammal Tid, ſ. Ex. 26, 27. 28, 56, 57, o. ſ. v. Men andre Mel. ſaaſom 20, 24 og 35 tillige med nogle andre ſom ere ſaa vel bekjendte i den ensformige Takt, har jeg ikke vovet at fremſætte i den oprindelige Takt, men lader dem blive i den Takt hvori de nutildags bruges.

Derfor er det ikke egentlig nogen ny Takt, jeg ønſker indført, men det er en Deel af den gamle Rhythme.

Lærer man førſt rigtigt at kjende de oprindelige Mel. ſkal man ſnart fornemme at de have Magten i ſig baade til at vække Sindet og til at frembære Hjertets inderſte og dybeſte Stemninger, hvad vor Kirkeſang i de ſidſte Aar aldeles ikke har formaaet. I flerſtemmig rhytmiſk Sang er der et Liv, en Kraft og en Varme, ſom vil vække Intereſſen hos de Unge til des flitigere at beſøge Kirken og Sangſkolerne, og ſom vil blive til almindelig Opbyggelſe for Enhver.

☞ Et Tillæg bliver udgivet om en Tid.

K. H.

Entered according to Act of Congress, A. D. 1866, by Knud Henderson, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Northeren District of Illinoi

Foreword to Knud Henderson:

Choral Bog, indeholdende Melodier for de
Norske og Svenske Psalmebøger, tilligemed
en Musik Skole (1866)

Norwegians in America have for a long time lacked a Norwegian chorale book, and this book is an attempt to fill that need. There is hardly any national group in America among whom singing, both in church and at home, is at such a low ebb as it is generally among the Norwegians. It would seem, therefore, that it is high time to try to restore to the old chorale melodies, in their splendid simplicity, the life which indifferent times have taken from them, especially since more frequent use of these melodies in church and home is surely the most effective means to awaken interest in our lethargic church music and lift it out of the doldrums in which it has been in the last years. But in order to reintroduce the melodies in their original form one must first and foremost try to gain the understanding of the pastors, organists, precentors and school teachers in the hope that they will lend informed help. At the same time the chorale book should be used in schools and singing societies, where interest is most quickly aroused. If one will pursue these courses diligently the effort to replace our present sluggish, dull singing with fresh, expressive singing will soon begin to bear fruit.

This present edition includes a Method of Singing adequate to teach one to sing from notes. It includes also a sufficient number of melodies which are currently being used for our hymns. Among these melodies are major and minor melodies in the same meter. The small numbers immediately above the melodies refer to the number of syllables in each verse, and from them one can find the different melodies usable with the same meter.

Most of the melodies are in the rhythm which they possessed originally, e.g. Nos. 26,27, 28, 56, 57, etc. But other melodies, such as 20, 24, and 35, together with some others which are so well known in their isorhythmic form, I have not attempted to arrange in their original form, but have left them in the meter in which they are presently used.

I am not seeking, therefore, to introduce any new time or meter, but some of the old rhythms.

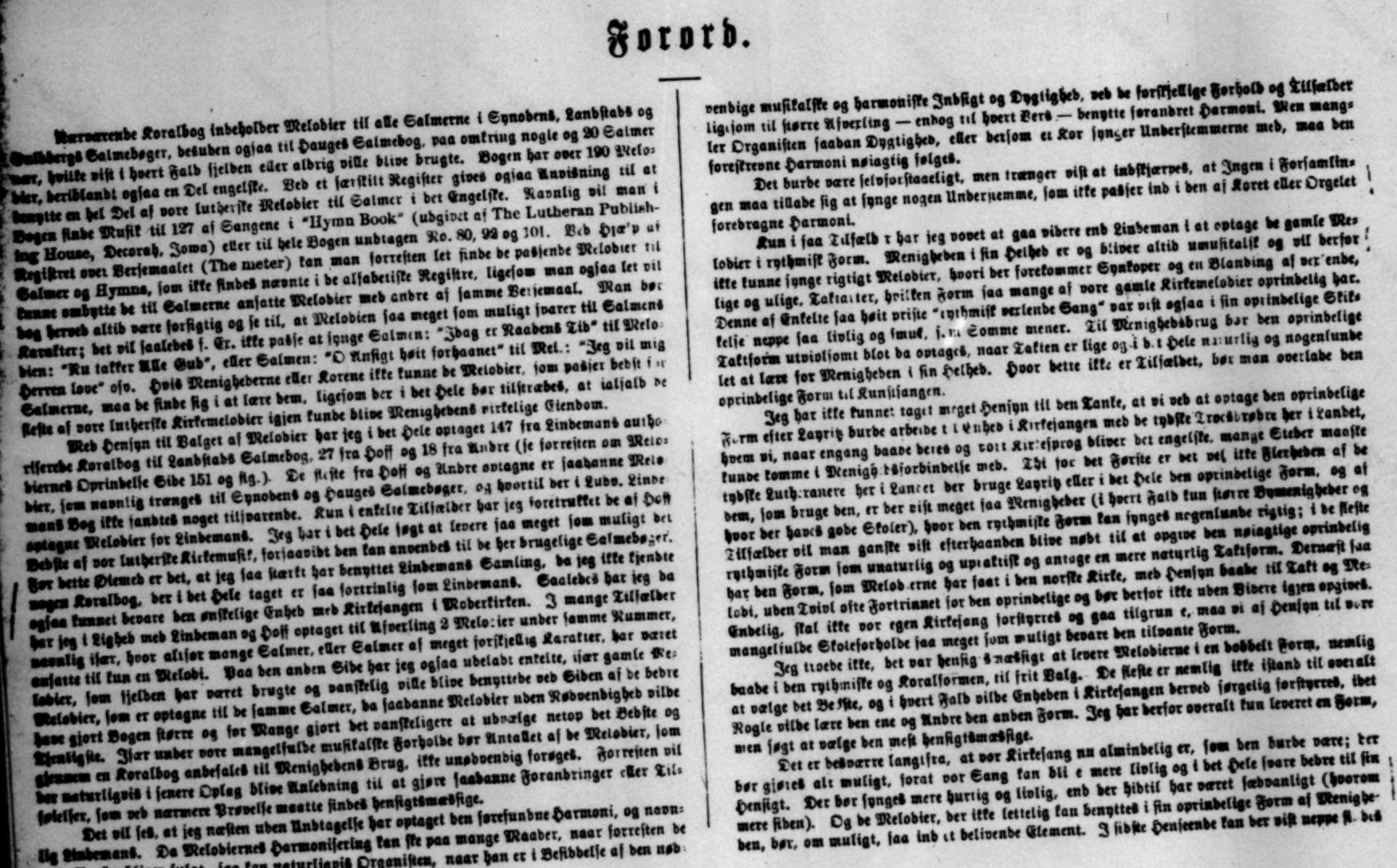
If one learns well to know the original melodies he will soon perceive that they have power to arouse the mind and express the heart's innermost and deepest feelings--something which our church music in late years has not been able to do. In many-voiced rhythmic singing there is life, power and warmth which will awaken in the young a renewed interest in attending church and singing schools, and which will be to the general edification of all.

A supplement will be forthcoming.

K. H.

PLATE XXVII

Jensen's Koralbog, 1879



Forord.

Nærværende Koralbog indeholder Melodier til alle Salmerne i Synodens, Landſtads og Guldbergs Salmebøger, desuden ogſaa til Hauges Salmebog, paa omkring nogle og 20 Salmer nær, hvilke viſt i hvert Fald ſjelden eller aldrig ville blive brugte. Bogen har over 190 Melodier, deriblandt ogſaa en Del engelſke. Ved et ſærſkilt Regiſter gives ogſaa Anviſning til at benytte en hel Del af vore lutherſke Melodier til Salmer i det Engelſke. Navnlig vil man i Bogen finde Muſik til 127 af Sangene i "Hymn Book" (udgivet af The Lutheran Publishing House, Decorah, Iowa) eller til hele Bogen undtagen No. 80, 92 og 101. Ved Hjælp af Regiſtret over Verſemaalet (The meter) kan man forreſten let finde de paſſende Melodier til Salmer og Hymns, ſom ikke findes nævnte i de alfabetiſke Regiſtre, ligeſom man ogſaa let vil kunne ombytte de til Salmerne anſatte Melodier med andre af ſamme Verſemaal. Man bør dog herved altid være forſigtig og ſe til, at Melodien ſaa meget ſom muligt ſvarer til Salmens Karakter; det vil ſaaledes f. Ex. ikke paſſe at ſynge Salmen: "Idag er Naadens Tid" til Melodien: "Nu takker Alle Gud", eller Salmen: "O Anſigt høit forhaanet" til Mel.: "Jeg vil mig Herren love" oſv. Hvis Menighederne eller Korene ikke kunne de Melodier, ſom paſſer bedſt for Salmerne, maa de finde ſig i at lære dem, ligeſom der i det Hele bør tilſtræbes, at ialfald de fleſte af vore lutherſke Kirkemelodier igjen kunde blive Menighedens virkelige Eiendom.

Med Henſyn til Valget af Melodier har jeg i det Hele optaget 147 fra Lindemans autoriſerede Koralbog til Landſtads Salmebog, 27 fra Hoff og 18 fra Andre (ſe forreſten om Melodiernes Oprindelſe Side 151 og flg.). De fleſte fra Hoff og Andre optagne er ſaadanne Melodier, ſom navnlig trænges til Synodens og Hauges Salmebøger, og hvortil der i Ludv. Lindemans Bog ikke fandtes noget tilſvarende. Kun i enkelte Tilfælder har jeg foretrukket de af Hoff optagne Melodier for Lindemans. Jeg har i det Hele ſøgt at levere ſaa meget ſom muligt det Bedſte af vor lutherſke Kirkemuſik, forſaavidt den kan anvendes til de her brugelige Salmebøger. For dette Øiemed er det, at jeg ſaa ſtærkt har benyttet Lindemans Samling, da jeg ikke kjendte nogen Koralbog, der i det Hele taget er ſaa fortrinlig ſom Lindemans. Saaledes har jeg da ogſaa kunnet bevare den ønſkelige Enhed med Kirkeſangen i Moderkirken. I mange Tilfælder har jeg i Lighed med Lindeman og Hoff optaget til Afvexling 2 Melodier under ſamme Nummer, navnlig iſær, hvor altfor mange Salmer, eller Salmer af meget forſkjellig Karakter, har været anſatte til kun en Melodi. Paa den anden Side har jeg ogſaa udeladt enkelte, iſær gamle Melodier, ſom ſjelden har været brugte og vanſkelig vilde blive benyttede ved Siden af de bedre Melodier, ſom er optagne til de ſamme Salmer, da ſaadanne Melodier uden Nødvendighed vilde have gjort Bogen ſtørre og for Mange gjort det vanſkeligere at udvælge netop det Bedſte og Tjenligſte. Iſær under vore mangelfulde muſikalſke Forholde bør Antallet af de Melodier, ſom gjennem en Koralbog anbefales til Menighedens Brug, ikke unødvendig forøges. Forreſten vil der naturligvis i ſenere Oplag blive Anledning til at gjøre ſaadanne Forandringer eller Tilføielſer, ſom ved nærmere Prøvelſe maatte findes henſigtsmæſſige.

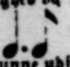
Det vil ſes, at jeg næſten uden Undtagelſe har optaget den forefundne Harmoni, og navnlig Lindemans. Da Melodiernes Harmoniſering kan ſke paa mange Maader, naar forreſten de nødvendige Regler bliver fulgt, ſaa kan naturligvis Organiſten, naar han er i Beſiddelſe af den nødvendige muſikalſke og harmoniſke Indſigt og Dygtighed, ved de forſkjellige Forhold og Tilfælder ligeſom til ſtørre Afvexling — endog til hvert Vers — benytte forandret Harmoni. Men mangler Organiſten ſaadan Dygtighed, eller derſom et Kor ſynger Underſtemmerne med, maa den foreſkrevne Harmoni nøiagtig følges.

Det burde være ſelvforſtaaeligt, men trænger viſt at indſkjærpes, at Ingen i Forſamlingen maa tillade ſig at ſynge nogen Underſtemme, ſom ikke paſſer ind i den af Koret eller Orgelet foredragne Harmoni.

Kun i faa Tilfælder har jeg vovet at gaa videre end Lindeman i at optage de gamle Melodier i rythmiſk Form. Menigheden i ſin Helhed er og bliver altid umuſikalſk og vil derfor ikke kunne ſynge rigtigt Melodier, hvori der forekommer Synkoper og en Blanding af vexlende, lige og ulige, Taktarter, hvilken Form ſaa mange af vore gamle Kirkemelodier oprindelig har. Denne af Enkelte ſaa høit priſte "rythmiſk vexlende Sang" var viſt ogſaa i ſin oprindelige Skikkelſe neppe ſaa livlig og ſmuk, ſom Somme mener. Til Menighedsbrug bør den oprindelige Taktform utvivlſomt blot da optages, naar Takten er lige og i det Hele naturlig og nogenlunde let at lære for Menigheden i ſin Helhed. Hvor dette ikke er Tilfældet, bør man overlade den oprindelige Form til Kunſtſangen.

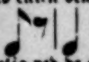
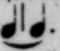
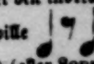
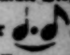
Jeg har ikke kunnet taget meget Henſyn til den Tanke, at vi ved at optage den oprindelige Form efter Layritz burde arbeide til Enhed i Kirkeſangen med de tydſke Troesbrødre her i Landet, hvem vi, naar engang baade deres og vort Kirkeſprog bliver det engelſke, mange Steder maaſke kunde komme i Menighedsforbindelſe med. Thi for det Førſte er det vel ikke Flerheden af de tydſke Lutheranere her i Landet der bruge Layritz eller i det Hele den oprindelige Form, og af dem, ſom bruge den, er der viſt meget faa Menigheder (i hvert Fald kun ſtørre Bymenigheder og hvor der haves gode Skoler), hvor den rythmiſke Form kan ſynges nogenlunde rigtig; i de fleſte Tilfælder vil man ganſke viſt efterhaanden blive nødt til at opgive den nøiagtige oprindelig rythmiſke Form ſom unaturlig og upraktiſk og antage en mere naturlig Taktform. Dernæſt ſaa har den Form, ſom Melodierne har faaet i den norſke Kirke, med Henſyn baade til Takt og Melodi, uden Tvivl ofte Fortrinnet for den oprindelige og bør derfor ikke uden Videre igjen opgives. Endelig, ſkal ikke vor egen Kirkeſang forſtyrres og gaa tilgrunde, maa vi af Henſyn til vore mangelfulde Skoleforholde ſaa meget ſom muligt bevare den tilvante Form.

Jeg troede ikke, det var henſigtsmæſſigt at levere Melodierne i en dobbelt Form, nemlig baade i den rythmiſke og Koralformen, til frit Valg. De fleſte er nemlig ikke iſtand til overalt at vælge det Bedſte, og i hvert Fald vilde Enheden i Kirkeſangen derved ſørgelig forſtyrres, idet Nogle vilde lære den ene og Andre den anden Form. Jeg har derfor overalt kun leveret en Form, men ſøgt at vælge den meſt henſigtsmæſſige.

Det er desværre langtfra, at vor Kirkeſang nu almindelig er, ſom den burde være; der bør gjøres alt muligt, forat vor Sang kan blive mere livlig og i det Hele ſvare bedre til ſin Henſigt. Der bør ſynges mere hurtig og livlig, end der hidtil har været ſædvanligt (hvorom mere ſiden). Og de Melodier, der ikke lettelig kan benyttes i ſin oprindelige Form af Menigheden, bør, om muligt, faa ind et belivende Element. I ſidſte Henſeende kan der viſt neppe [illegible] noget henſigtsmæsſigere Middel end den af Ludv. M. Lindeman brugte Punktering, der ogſaa tildels var benyttet af ældre Kirkemuſikere, og hvorved den tilvante melodiſke Form bevares og Takten ikke forandres eller vanſkeliggjøres. Denne Punktering, der længe har været brugt af Lindeman og ved hans authoriſerede Koralbog er anbefalet til Brug i hele Norge, beſtaar i, at enkelte Toner er blevne forlængede ved et Punkt "for at belive Melodien og for at markere (fremhæve) Sætningerne og Periodebygningen". Denne Form har jeg optaget nøiagtigt efter Lindeman. Det vilde være meget ønſkeligt, om man i Skolerne og Sangforeningerne indøvede denne Punktering, ſaa kunde den forhaabentlig ogſaa efterhaanden blive benyttet i Kirken og tilegnet af Menighederne. Men Organiſt og Sanglærer maa nøie paaſe, at ſaadanne Toner blive udførte med den nødvendige afmaalte, taktmæsſige Nøiagtighed og tillige med den Ro og Værdighed, ſom den religiøſe Sang kræver, ſaaledes at der til  tilſammentaget tælles nøiagtigt 4 Ottendedele, altſaa 3 til førſte Node. De, ſom ikke kunne udføre en punkteret Node med den ſtrenge Nøiagtighed og Ro, eller ſom vilde holde ſig til det Tilvante, eller ſom maaſke endog anſe alle mere bevægelige melodiſke Figurer — al ſaa ogſaa denne — for ukirkelige, kunne uden videre udelade Punkten og foredrage Melodien paa den gamle Maade med lige lange Toner.

Melodierne bør foredrages i ſtreng Takt og ikke langſommere end, at der føles tydelig Forſkjel paa Taktens tunge og lette Tider, og at Nedtakt og Optakt (Thesis og Arsis) faar den rette Betoning. — hurtigere i de Melodier, der hiſt og her har lange Noder og i dem, ſom har til Fortegning Allabreve-Tegnet 𝄵, end i de øvrige med Fjerdedelstegnet 𝄴 eller $\frac{4}{4}$. Melodier i tredelt Takt er i Regelen livligere og bør derfor almindelig udføres hurtigere end de i todelt og firdelt Takt. Efter Lindemans Anviſning og Praxis, ſom visſelig fortjener at befølges, bør der bruges et ſaa hurtigt Tempo, at en Fjerdedels Node udføres i en Tid af 1½ til 1 Sekund eller derimellem, nemlig lidt langſommere eller hurtigere i Forhold til Salmens, Melodiens eller Anledningens Karakter ſamt Taktens Beſkaffenhed. Forat øve Følelſen for Tempoet kan man i Sanglokalet, f. Ex. oppe under Taget, hænge 2 Traade, hver med et lidet Lod i Enden, den ene 40, den anden 90 amerikanſke Tommer lange fra Fæſtet til Enden af Loddet, og ſaa, medens man ſynger, ſætte en af dem i Bevægelſe og ſynge 1 Fjerdedelsnode for hver Svingning. Den 40 Tommer lange Snor ſvinger 1 Gang for hvert Sekund og den anden 1 Gang for hvert 1½ Sekund. Dette bør almindelig være Ydergrænſerne for Hurtigheden; navnlig burde man aldrig gaa ned under det herved angivne langſomſte Tempo, men heller ſaa meget ſom muligt nærme ſig det hurtigſte og ved enkelte i ½ Takt maaſke endog overſkride det her angivne hurtigſte*).

Skjønt der efter Sætningernes Endenoder er anbragt Pauſer — nødvendige for Aandedraget — iſtedetfor de i Koralerne ſædvanligt ſkrevne Fermater (der har været misbrugt til en unaturlig Slæben af Strofens Endetone), ſaa følger ikke deraf, at det ved Foredraget paa Orgelet altid er nødvendigt at pauſere med alle Stemmer; thi Noden med følgende Pauſe kan — iſær naar der ſpilles med fuldt Værk — i øverſte Stemme udholdes, medens de øvrige Stemmer pauſere, ſaa at al ſaa f. Ex. Melodiens Ottendedelsnode med følgende Pauſe ſpilles ſom en Fjerdedelsnode.

Koralerne ſkulle paa Orgelet foredrages i det ſtrengeſte Legato, d. e. nøie ſammenbundet. Men fra denne Regel kan der undtagelsesvis afviges med Basſen. Hvor der for Tydeligheds Skyld fordres, at Nedtakten eller den tunge Tid (Thesis) ſkal markeres, forkortes i Basſen den foregaaende Optakt (Arsis), hvad enten denne har den ſamme Node ſom dens foregaaende Optakt eller ikke. Der ſpilles altſaa  iſtedetfor . Undtagelſe ſker ogſaa, hvor en punkteret Node ikke bliver forſtaaelig ved de andre Stemmer, idet den indtræder paa ſamme Tid, ſom Basſen har en og ſamme Tone. Her kan man da i Basſen ſpille  iſtedetfor .

Da Koralerne er ſkrevne for de 4 Sangſtemmer: Diskant (eller Sopran), Alt, Tenor og Bass, ſaa maa Fordelingen af Stemmerne paa Orgelet eller Pianoet ſke efter Enhvers Bekvemmelighed, ſaaledes at Tenorſtemmen, der ſtaar øverſt paa Basſyſtemet, gribes, ſom det falder beleiligſt, ſnart med den venſtre Haand og ſnart med den høire. Undertiden kan Basſen, forat kunne gribes ſammen med Tenoren, tages en Oktav høiere.

I Svarene til Mesſen (No. 171) bør hele Menigheden iſtemme.

Et godt firſtemmigt Sangkor til Ledelſe af Kirkeſangen er en ſkjøn og priſelig Ting. Det maa dog altid nøie erindres, at et Kirkekor ſkal bidrage til Menighedens Opbyggelſe i Almindelighed og til at ophjælpe Menighedens Sang i Særdeleshed. Derefter bør da Korets baade Sang og Opførſel indrettes. I et Kirkekor bør ſaaledes f. Ex. Melodien — og iſær naar der ogſaa ſpilles Orgel — træde frem i en ſæregen Grad, ſaa Menigheden klart kan opfatte den og drages med ind i Sangen. Det maa aldrig glemmes, at det er Menighedens Sang, ſom her ſkal være Hovedſagen, og at Koret væſentlig blot ſkal tjene og ophjælpe den.

Ja maatte nu ogſaa denne Bog faa bidrage til, at Menigheden kunde lære [illegible] at ſkatte og benytte vore herlige lutherſke Kirkemelodier og Salmer, og at ogſaa vore Unge og vor Efterſlægt i dette Land kunde i Kjærlighed tage i Arv disſe vore dyrebare Klenodier! Eph. 5, 19. Col. 3, 16. Guds Velſignelſe følge Bogen for Jeſu Skyld!

Jefferſon Prairie Præſtegaard (Clinton P. O., Rock Co., Wis.) i Oktober 1879.

E. Jenſen.

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*) Det vilde være ønſkeligt, at baade Lederne af Sangkorene og Kirkeſangerne ſtuderede Sanglæren godt. Jeg vil her tillade mig at henlede Opmærkſomheden iſær paa §§ 2, 3, 5, 6 og 7 af Sanglæren i min "Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom."

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PLATE XXVII

Foreword to Jensen:

Koralbog, 1879

The present chorale book contains melodies for all the hymns in the Synod, Landstad and Guldberg hymnals, and also for those in the Hauge hymnal with the exception of about 20 hymns which will seldom, if ever, be used anyway. The book contains over 190 melodies, including a few English ones. A special index also lists a number of our Lutheran melodies which are usable for the English hymns. Specifically, one can find tunes for 127 of the hymns in Hymn Book issued by The Lutheran Publishing House, Decorah, Iowa[1], in other words, the whole book except for hymns 80, 92 and 101. With the help of the metrical index one can easily find melodies for hymns not listed in the alphabetical index. Likewise, one can substitute a melody for the one listed provided that the meter is identical. One should, however, take care that the melody fits the character of the hymn; for example, it would not do to sing Idag er Naadens Tid [This is the day of grace] to the melody

[1] Full title: Hymn Book for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations (1879). It was published in a text edition only.

Nu takker alle Gud, [Now thank we all our God] or *O Ansigt høit forhaanet* [O sacred head now wounded] to the melody *Jeg vil mig Herren love* [I will praise the Lord],etc.. If congregations and choirs do not know the melodies which best suit the hymns they should learn them, and in general strive to recapture the use of our Lutheran hymn tunes.

With regard to the choice of melodies, I have taken 147 in all from Lindeman's authorized book of melodies[2] to Landstad's hymnal, 27 from Hoff[3], and 18 from other sources (see List of Sources, p. 151 ff.). Most of the melodies from Hoff and other books are melodies for hymns in the Synoden and Hauge hymnals which are not found in Lindeman. Only in a few instances have I substituted a Hoff melody for the one given in Lindeman. In general I have tried to use the best of our Lutheran church music insofar as it lends itself to use with the hymnals we have here. For this reason I have used Lindeman as a primary source, since I have not found another chorale

[2] L. M. Lindeman, *Koralbog, indeholdende de i Landstads Salmebog forekommende Melodier* (Kristiania, 1877).

[3] Erik Hoff, *Melodibog til samtlige authoriserede Salmebøger--Hauges, Landstads, evangelisk-kristelige, Guldbergs og Kingos, samt til "Salmebog for den norsk-evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika"* (Kristiania, 1878).

book as satisfying as his. This has also made possible a close tie with the music of the mother church. In many instances, as did Lindeman and Hoff, I have set 2 alternative melodies under one number, especially where too many hymns, or hymns of different character, have been sung to one melody. On the other hand, I have excluded some melodies, especially those old ones which are seldom used and which could be used only with difficulty alongside the better tunes which have been set to the same hymns, since the inclusion of such tunes would have lengthened the book unnecessarily and made more difficult the choice of the better and more usable tune. In view of the musical shortcomings of our present situation it seems unwise that a chorale book designed for congregational use should have too large a number of tunes. Furthermore, in future editions of this book there will be opportunity to make appropriate changes or additions suggested by usage.

It will be seen that almost without exception, I have used the harmony given with a melody, especially in the case of Lindeman. Since a melody can be harmonized in many different ways, if one follows the right rules, it follows that an organist, possessed of the necessary musical knowledge and skill, may, depending upon circumstances, change harmonies within a hymn--even on each stanza--for the sake of variety. However, if the organist is not skilled, or if a choir is singing the hymn in parts, the given harmony must be played as written.

It should be understood, but perhaps needs emphasis, that no one in the congregation may sing parts different from those rendered by the organ or choir.

In only a few instances have I ventured further than Lindeman in adopting the old rhythmic form of the chorale. A congregation is, and always will be, unmusical on the whole. For this reason it would have difficulty singing the syncopations and alternating duple and triple rhythms found in so many of our old church hymns. These rhythmically alternating hymns, so highly prized by some, were probably not originally as full of life and beauty as some people maintain. The original rhythmic forms should be used for a congregation only when the rhythm is even and in general natural and easy for the congregation to learn. Otherwise, the chorales in their original rhythm should be regarded as art music.

I have not been able to accept the idea that we should adopt the original form of the chorale, set out by Layriz[4], in order to work together with our German

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4. F. Layriz, Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs zum Gebrauch evangelisch--lutherischer Gemeinden und Familien (Noerdlingen, 1844, 1849 & 1854).

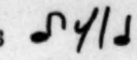
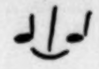
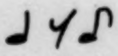
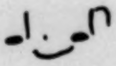
brothers-in-the-faith against the day that we forsake our mother tongues and unite as an English-speaking church. In the first place, the majority of the German Lutherans in this country probably do not use Layriz, or, for that matter, the original form at all, and of those who do use it there are surely very few congregations (in any case, only larger city congregations and those places where there are schools) where the rhythmic versions are sung reasonably correctly. In most instances, one will be forced after a while to give up the exact original rhythmic form as unnatural and impractical and adopt a more natural form. Moreover, the form which the melodies have taken in the Norwegian church, with regard to both meter and melody, are without doubt preferable to the original and, consequently, ought not to be given up. Finally, in order not to run our own church music here completely into the ground, we must, in view of the shortcomings of our schools, preserve the customary form insofar as possible.

I did not think it expedient to give both forms of the chorale, i.e. the rhythmic and isorhythmic [koralform], and thus leave the choice open. Most people are not equipped to choose the best, and in any case this would only cause regrettable confusion in our music since some would choose the first form and others the second. Therefore, I have given only one form, but tried to choose the more appropriate.

It is unfortunately true that our church music in general is far from what it ought to be. Everything possible ought to be done so our singing can be more vital and better serve its purpose. We ought to sing in faster tempo and with more life than we usually do (of which more later). And the melodies which cannot be easily used by the congregation in their original form should where possible be edited to give them more life. In the final analysis, there probably is no more effective means to achieve this than the dotted notes which Lindeman used, which was to some extent used by older church musicians, and which preserves the customary melodic form and leaves the meter unchanged and simple. This dotted rhythm, which Lindeman has used for a long time and which in his authorized chorale book is recommended for use all over Norway, consists in lengthening a note by means of a dot "in order to enliven the melody and clarify sentence and period structure". This form I have adopted in detail from Lindeman. It would be well if the schools and singing societies would practice these dotted rhythms; then it might be possible after a time to use them also in church where they could become familiar to the congregations. But the organist and the singing teacher must take care to see that these notes are performed exactly as written, metrically, at the same time as they are given the proper dignity and calm delivery necessary to religious music. Thus ♩. ♪ taken together, equal 4 eighth notes, i.e. 3 on the first note. Those who cannot render a dotted note with the necessary exactness and ease, or who prefer the usual method of playing, or who perhaps consider as unchurchly the more animated figures of music, may ignore the dotted values and play the notes in the customary way with equal length notes.

The melodies should be performed in strict time and not slower than will clearly differentiate the heavy from the light beats. Downbeat and upbeat (thesis and arsis) should have the proper stress--faster in the melodies with frequent long notes that have the allabreve signature, ¢, than in the rest with the usual C, or 4/4, signature. Melodies in triple meter are usually livelier and ought to be performed faster than those in duple meter. According to Lindeman's suggestion and practice, which ought to be followed, a quarter note should receive from 1--1½ seconds, or thereabouts, faster or slower depending on the nature of the hymn, the music or the meter. To get a feeling for the tempo one can hang 2 strings from the ceiling, each with a weight at the lower end, one 40 and one 90 American inches long from ceiling to end of weight. Then, while you sing, set the weight to swinging and sing a quarter note for each swing. The 40 inch string will swing once a second, the 90 inch string once each second and a half. These should generally be the outer limits of the speed. One should never go slower than the slowest speed indicated above but rather aim for the faster limit, occasionally in 3/4 meter going a bit faster than that.*

A rest is introduced at the end of a sentence for the purpose of drawing breath. This takes the place of the fermata formerly used in the old chorales (and much abused, especially in dragging out the final cadence). However, it is not necessary to break in all 4 voices. The top voice may be held for the full quarter note value, especially with full organ, while the lower voices drop out and observe the rest.

The chorales should be played in the strictest legato, including the notes connected without breaks. The bass line, however, is an exception to this rule. When clarity demands that the downbeat or accent (thesis) should be marked, the preceding note in the bass should be shortened, thus  instead of  . Another exception occurs in dotted notes when the melody will not be clearly heard entering on the eighth note if the bass has the same note. In this case the bass line should read thus:  rather than  .

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*It would be desirable for both choir directors and precentors to study singing. I take the liberty of directing attention to my singing method in Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom (Songbook for Children and Youth), especially par. 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7. [Publ. in Chicago, 1878] .

Since the chorales are written for 4 voices: dis--cant [or soprano] , alto, tenor and bass, the distribution of the 4 parts between the two hands on the piano or organ[5] must be suited to the player. Thus, since the tenor voice is highest on the bass staff, he will occasionally have to play it with his right hand rather than his left. Likewise, in order to play more easily, he may occasionally play the bass notes an octave higher.

The whole congregation should take part in the liturgical responses found at number 171.

A good four-voiced choir to lead congregational singing is a beautiful and priceless thing. But it should always be borne in mind that the purpose of a church choir is to contribute to the general edification of the congregation and more particularly to aid congregational singing. This purpose should determine the nature of its music and its manner of performance. In a church choir the melody should be sung so prominently--especially when the organ is also playing--that the congregation can clearly hear it and follow along. It must never be forgotten that the singing of the congregation is of primary importance here. The choir's function is merely to serve this end.

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[5] Jensen probably has in mind here the harmonium.

Would that this book might serve to teach the congregation rightly to value and use our wonderful Lutheran church melodies and hymns, and that our young people and our descendants in this land would accept with love this heritage of costly jewels. Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16. The blessing of God be shed upon this book, for Jesus' sake.

Jefferson Prairie parsonage (Clinton P.O., Rock County, Wis.) is October 1879.

E. Jensen

PLATE XXVIII

Foreword to Jensen, Sangbog, 1878

Vis og Klang, opføre ligeſom en himmelſk Kordans omkring den, nærme ſig den ſnart venligen, kjærtegne og omfavne den kjærligen, — ſaa at den, ſom ſkjønner lidt derpaa og røres derved, maa blive højligen forundret og mene, at der i Verden ikke gives noget Sælſommere end en ſaadan Sang, prydet med flere Stemmer. Og den, ſom ingen Lyſt og Kjærlighed har til Muſik og ikke bliver rørt ved dette yndige Underværk, han maa i Sandhed være en grov Klods og ikke værd at høre den deilige Muſik, men i dens Sted en Snauspoet (einen Dreckpoeten) eller Hunde- og Svineſang.

Men hvorfor ſkal jeg tale i det Vide og Brede herom? Denne ædle Kunſt medfører en langt ſtørre og rigere Nytte, end at det i Korthed kunde opregnes. Derfor vil jeg anbefale denne Kunſt til Enhver, i Særdeleshed de Unge, og vil hermed formane dem til at agte denne koſtelige, nyttige og opfriſkende Guds Gave ret dyrebar og ſætte ret Pris paa den; thi naar de paaſkjønner denne Kunſt og flittig øver ſig deri, kunne de i ſin Tid dermed fordrive onde Tanker og undgaa ſlet Selſkab og andre Udyder; dernæſt ſkulle de ogſaa vænne ſig til i denne Gave at erkjende Gud, dens Skaber, og love og priſe ham derfor og med al Flid vogte ſig for og fly ſaadanne, ſom ſelvfordærvede ved Ukydſkhed, misbruge denne ſkjønne Natur og Kunſt (ſaaledes ſom ogſaa de utugtige Digtere misbruge ſin Natur og Kunſt) til ſkjændig, vild utugtig Elſkov, og være forviſſede om, at Saadanne drives hertil af Djævelen mod Naturen; thi medens Naturen ſkal og vil alene ære og priſe Gud, alle Kreaturers Skaber, med denne ædle Gave, ſaa drives derimod hine vanartede Børn og Byttinger af Satan til at fratage og berøve Gud Herren denne Gave for dermed at ære og tjene Djævelen, ſom er en Fiende af Gud, Naturen og denne vakre Kunſt. Hermed anbefaler jeg Eder Alle til Herren." (Luther als deutſcher Claſſiker I Bind, S. 123–128).

Saavidt Luther. Skulde ikke ogſaa dette Vidnesbyrd af vor Kirkefader være værd, at ikke blot Ungdommen, men ogſaa Forældre, Præſter, Lærere og Menighederne lagde ſig det paa Hjerte?

Jensen's Foreword begins ~~here~~

Hvad nu **nærværende Sangbog** angaar, da har jeg ved Valget af **Text,** hvoraf der almindelig er flere Vers, undertiden flere Sange til hver Melodi, baade ſøgt at gjøre Bogen ſaa afvexlende og intereſſant, at den navnlig hos Børn og Ungdommen kunde vække Lyſt til Sang, og tillige ſaa alſidig nyttig ſom muligt. Jeg har ſøgt at ſkaffe baade Ældre og Yngre noget Godt ſaavel for Glæde ſom for Sorg, til at forædle den førſte og mildne den ſidſte; jeg vilde gjerne bidrage lidt til, at Kjærligheden til og Agtelſen for vort Folk og vor Nationalitet kunde ſtyrkes, og at almindelige Feſter og Sammenkomſter kunde faa et godt Præg, blive til Hygge og Forædling og bevirke Sammenhold og en god Samfundsaand; men jeg vilde ogſaa ſkaffe paſſende Text for kirkelige Anledninger, ſom Kirkeindvielſer, Miſſionsfeſter, Begravelſer o. ſ. v. Diſſe og lignende Henſyn til Texten har for en Del havt ſin Indflydelſe paa Valget af Muſikken, idet jeg for enkelte Sanges Skyld, ſom ikke godt kunde udelukkes, har taget med Melodier, ſom maaſke ellers ikke vare komne med. Men min fornemſte Beſtræbelſe har været at levere **gode Melodier med god Harmoni.** Derved troede jeg at kunne virke for et dobbelt Maal, for det førſte det, at den almene Mand kunde faa Del i den ligeſaa forædlende ſom behagelige Nydelſe i Familien og ved Sammenkomſter, ſom **god** Muſik kan bringe, og dernæſt — og det var mit endelige Maal — en bedre Forſtaaelſe af vor Kirkes Melodier og en bedre Sang i Kirke og Menighed.

I ſaa mange af den lutherſke Kirkes Koralmelodier eier vi baade en herlig Skat af Muſik og et ubetaleligt Hjælpemiddel til Opbyggelſe. Jeg ſkal exempelvis kun nævne af nærværende Sangbog No. 29, 45, 48, 65, 103, 105, 123, 124, 187, 190, 196 og 201, hvortil kan føies en Mængde andre. Skal vore Efterkommere i dette Land ikke komme til at lade ſaadanne Melodier ligge ubenyttede eller endog ganſke forkaſte dem og derimod antage til Kirkebrug Melodier, ſom ſtaar paa et meget lavere Trin baade ſom Muſik i Almindelighed og ſom Kirkemuſik i Særdeleshed — Noget, hvortil der desværre viſſelig vil blive og tildels allerede er Friſtelſe —, ſkal derimod Menigheden lære at forſtaa, elſke og benytte vore lutherſke Kirkemelodier ret og komme til at arbeide for, at de ogſaa kan blive forſtaaede og benyttede med Kjærlighed af Efterſlægten, maa der nødvendig ſkaffes det almindelige Folk let Adgang til at kunne udvikle Sandſen for god Muſik i Almindelighed. Dette har jeg efter Evne og Leilighed ved nærværende Bog villet bidrage en Smule til, idet jeg ved Siden af religiøs Muſik ogſaa har ſøgt at levere et godt Udtog af fornemmelig Folke- og Nationalmuſik og iſær af den ældre og nyere norſke, ſvenſke og danſke, der baade bedſt ſlaar an i Nordboernes Hjerter og tillige vanſkelig overtraffes af noget andet Lands Muſik. Jeg har gaaet ud fra, at har man førſt faaet Sands for god Muſik i Almindelighed, ſaa vil man ogſaa maatte ſkatte vore Kirkemelodier ſom herlige **muſikalſke** Produkter, og at der fra dette Standpunkt da ogſaa vil være let for det fromme Sind at føle dens ſtore Betydning ſom Kirkemuſik. Forreſten er ogſaa flere af Melodierne til de verdslige Sange, f. Ex. No. 158, 166, 168, 169, 173, 176 og mange flere, der i Karakter ligeſom ſtaar paa Grændſen mellem den verdslige og kirkelige Muſik, tildels optagne med den Tanke, at de ogſaa trinvis ſkal udvikle Sandſen for vore vakkre Kirkemelodiers **religiøſe** Betydning.

Efter Manges Anmodning har jeg optaget ſaa mange af vore bedſte og almindeligſt brugte Koralmelodier, at Bogen har Melodier til 870 Salmer af Guldbergs, 366 af Synodens og 447 af Landſtads Salmebøger og ſaaledes ogſaa midlertidig kan tjene ſom **Koralbog.** Om der ikke er Melodier — og undertiden ikke de i Karakter meſt paſſende — til alle Salmer, ſaa der altſaa fremdeles trænges en **fuldſtændig** Koralbog, ſaa tror jeg dog,

[redacted]

PLATE XXVIII

at nærværende Samling i Almindelighed vil være fuldſtændig nok for **Kirkekor,** da viſtnok ſaa Kor ville række at lære endog ſaa mange Koraler flerſtemmigt, og de øvrige Melodier ofteſt vil blive ſjungne kun enſtemmigt. Den **firſtemmige** Udſætning, der ogſaa er egnet til **Orgelbrug,** er for det meſte efter O. A. og L. M. Lindemans Koralbøger, men undertiden lempet lidt, iſær for at Stemmerne kunne blive lettere at ſynge, dog, ſom jeg haaber, uden Skade for Harmoniens Godhed. De **treſtemmige** Koraler kunne ſynges efter den bagefter Regiſtret givne Anvisning. Hvis de ſkal ſpilles til Menigheds- eller Korſangen, kan maaſke Baſſen fordobles. En lidt øvet Organiſt kan ogſaa let føie til en til den øvrige Harmoni ſvarende Mellemſtemme paa de Steder, hvor den treſtemmige Harmoni ſynes vel tom. En Del af de gamle Koraler har jeg gjengivet i deres oprindelige eller ſaakaldte **rythmiſke** Form, ſaaledes ſom Behrens og Layriz har den. Man kan dog derfor lige godt ſynge og ſpille dem i den fra O. A. Lindemans Koralbog tilvante Form, med lige lange Toner. Skjønt den rythmiſke Form i flere Melodier viſtnok maa foretrækkes ſom livligere og mere naturlig, bør man vel være noget forſigtig med at indføre den i Kirkerne, iſær hvor Menigheden er lidet ſangdygtig. Det ſkader dog ikke, at man indøver den i Skolerne og Sangforeningerne og ogſaa ved Leilighed lader Menigheden høre Prøver paa den. Om **Foredraget** af Koralerne ſe Sanglæren § 7.

Med L. M. Lindeman har jeg ſtrøget de af O. A. Lindeman brugte Fermater ved Enden af hver Strofe i Koralerne, da de viſtnok har bidraget Sit til at bevirke den unaturlig lange Slæben af Strofens Endetone. Men idet man ſøger at undgaa denne Slæben og at arbeide henimod det Maal, at man ikke ved hver Strofes Slutning falder ud af Takten, bør man dog ogſaa vogte ſig, at man ikke ved en **pludſelig** Forandring af det, ſom Menigheden er bleven vant til, forſtyrrer dens Sang og virker nedbrydende iſtedetfor opbyggende.

Med det Formaal for Øie, at Bogen kunde blive ſaa godt ſkikket ſom muligt til at fremme Sangen i Almindelighed, — brugbar paa Landet ſom i Byen, i mindre ſom i ſtørre Kredſe —, har jeg foretrukket **treſtemmig** Udſætning for firſtemmig i den Del, ſom kan ſynges af Mandskor (før No. 155). Klinger den treſtemmige Udſætning ikke altid ſaa fyldigt, ſaa har den dog den tredobbelte Fordel, at den almindelig ikke kræver ſaa udvalgte høie og dybe Stemmer, at man langt lettere kan finde Kræfter nok til at beſætte den end den firſtemmige, og at den ogſaa kan benyttes af begge Kjøn.

Koralerne i ſidſte Del af Bogen og i det Hele Sangene fra No. 155 bør ikke indøves førſt bagefter, men ſideordnet med det Foregaaende. Navnlig bør man i Børneſkolen ved Siden af ialfald det Bedſte af de førſte 60 Nummere ogſaa indøve flere af de følgende Koraler.

Man erindre, at Udſætningen fra No. 155 af er arrangeret ſaaledes, at man maa benytte **alle** Underſtemmerne, hvis man vil ſynge nogen af dem.

Bogen kan naturligvis ogſaa benyttes **til Spil,** eller til Spil og Sang i Forening. Det er maaſke ikke unødvendigt at indſkjærpe, at naar der ſynges eller ſpilles Underſtemmer, bør Ingen tillade ſig at ſynge med nogen Underſtemme, ſom ikke paſſer ind i den foredragne Harmoni.

Efter Manges Opfordring har jeg medgivet Bogen en **praktiſk Sanglære,** ſom er udarbeidet fornemmelig efter Joh. D. Behrens's "Sanglære for Skoler". Jeg haaber, at Sangbogen derved er bleven mere brugbar og nyttig. Jeg har i det Hele ſøgt at tage med det Nødvendige og ikke mere og at fremſtille det letfatteligt, ſaa at det ikke blot kunde tjene Lærer og Elever ſom Hjælpemiddel ved Undervisningen, men ogſaa være ſkikket for Selvſtudium. Man vil ſe, at jeg iſær lægger Vægt paa, at der lægges et godt Grundlag. Man bør, før man begynder Sangundervisningen, ſtudere hele Sanglæren godt, ſaa at man ſiden kan bruge den med Skjønſomhed og afpaſſe Øvelſerne i Forhold til Elevernes Tarv og den Tid, man har til Raadighed.

Kunde nu Bogen bidrage i nogen Mon til hos vort Folk herover at vække Sandſen for god Sang og Muſik i det Hele og til i Særdeleshed at befordre Smag for vore gode Kirkemelodier og en mere livlig, hjertelig og opbyggelig Menigheds- og Kirkeſang, vilde et af mine kjæreſte Ønſker dermed være opfyldt.

Jefferſon Prairie Præſtegaard (Clinton, Wis.) i December 1877.

E. Jenſen.

Regiſter til Sanglæren.

§ 1. Stemmeſkiftning.
§ 2. Betingelſer for Sangorganernes rette Virkſomhed.
§ 3. Sangtonen
§ 4. Skalaøvelſer.
§ 5. Udtalen.
§ 6. Aandedraget.
§ 7. Foredraget.
§ 8. Sangøvelſernes Begyndelſe.
§ 9. Træffeøvelſer paa Toneſtigen.
§ 10. Noder, Bue, Pauſer, Takt.
§ 11. Linieſyſtemet, Nøgler.
§ 12. Flerſtemmig Sang.
§ 13. Den kromatiſke Skala.
§ 14. Dur og Mol.
§ 15. De forſkjellige Dur- og Mol Tonearter.
§ 16 Hvorledes man kan finde Toneartens Grundtone.
§ 17. Foredragstegn.
§ 18. Praktiſke Øvelſer.

Foreword to Jensen:

Sangbog, 1878

(After a long introduction on music quoted from Martin Luther):

As far as this book is concerned, I have tried to choose texts, of which each usually has several stanzas (and some melodies several texts,), in such a way that they will offer variety and interest to children and young people and awaken in them a desire to sing, and, at the same time, be useful. I have tried to provide for both old and young something of worth for joy and sorrow, to ennoble the former and temper the latter. I should like to do what I can to strengthen the love and esteem for our people and our nationality, to further a genuine spirit of fellowship and harmony at our gatherings. But I also want to provide suitable texts for church functions, such as church dedications, mission festivals, funerals, etc.. These concerns have had some influence upon the choice of music, because in order to include certain texts I have also had to use some melodies which otherwise I perhaps would not have used. My primary efforts, however, have been to provide good melodies with good harmony. Thus I have attempted to work toward a double goal--to give the common man a chance to have the enjoyment and pleasure at home and in gatherings which good music can give, and next--and this is my ultimate goal--to broaden the understanding of our church hymn tunes and improve the singing in church and congregation.

In so many of the Lutheran chorale tunes we have a magnificent store of music and an immeasurable aid to edification. For example, in this book I can name the following: Nos. 29, 45, 48, 65, 103, 105, 123, 124, 187, 190, 196, 201--to which many more could be added. If our descendants in this country are not going to let these melodies lie unused or throw them away entirely and take into use in the church tunes of a much lower standard from a musical standpoint (especially a church music standpoint)--a danger which is already in evidence--and if, on the other hand, our congregations are going to learn to understand, love and use our Lutheran tunes so they can bequeath them to their children, then we must put into the hands of the people the means to develop a feeling for good music in general. To this end I have tried to contribute a little in this book by supplying, in addition to religious music, folk and national music, especially new and old Norwegian, Swedish and Danish music, which is most apt to appeal to Nordic people and which they are not apt to hear in the music of another country. I have proceeded on the principle that if a person can first get a feeling for good music in general he will be able to value our church tunes as genuinely musical products and thus come to understand their worth as church music. Incidentally, several of the tunes, e.g. Nos. 158, 166, 168, 169, 173, 176 and several others, which are on the boundary line between sacred and secular music, have been included partly with the idea that they will contribute to an understanding of the religious worth and meaning of our church melodies. Following the suggestions of many people I have included so many of our best and most used chorale melodies that the book has tunes for 370 of Guldberg's, 366 of the Synod's, and 447 of Landstad's hymns, and thus can serve temporarily as a chorale book. If there are not melodies for all the hymns--particularly, melodies not suitable to the character of the hymns--so that a complete chorale book is still needed, I still believe that this collection will be complete enough for a church choir since few choirs will be able even to learn this many chorales in 4 parts. The rest of the melodies will most often be sung in unison anyway. The 4-part settings, which are also meant for the organ, are based mainly on O. A. and L. M. Lindeman's chorale books occasionally edited to make them easier to sing--but not to their detriment, I hope. The 3-part chorales may be sung in accordance with the instructions following the index in the back of the book.[1] If these are to be accompanied the bass notes may be doubled. A trained organist can also fill in the notes of the chord where the harmony strikes him as being too thin. Some of the chorales I have set in their original, or so-called rhythmic form, as J. D. Behrens and F. Layriz have them. One can, however, play them in the more accustomed way, with equal length notes, as O. A. Lindeman has them. Even though the rhythmic form in several of the melodies has more life and is more natural, we must be careful in introducing these melodies in congregations that do not sing well. It will not do any harm, however, to practice them in schools and choirs, and occasionally let the congregation hear a rehearsal of them. Regarding the method of singing the chorales, see paragraph 7 in the section called Singing Method.[2]

Like L. M. Lindeman, I have left out the fermata signs which O. A. Lindeman used at cadences, since I feel that they have contributed to the unnatural slowing

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1. The instructions Jensen refers to suggest voice divisions with which to sing the 3-part settings: 1) women or children sing the 2 upper voices and men the lowest, 2) all 3 parts by male voices (moved down an octave), women and children doubling the top 2 voices in their own register, 3) women sing all 3 parts.

2. This follows immediately after the introduction.

down of the ends of phrases. But, in trying to make a change from this sluggish method of singing, which destroys the pulse at the end of every phrase, one must be careful not to disturb the congregation too much, and thus do more harm than good.

With the purpose of promoting the cause of singing in general and making the book as usable in the country as in the city, in limited circumstances as well as unlimited, I have used 3-part settings in the section which a male chorus can use (Nos. 1-154). If the harmony does not always sound as full as it might, the 3-part settings, nevertheless, have the distinct advantage that they do not demand the extreme range of voices that 4-part settings do, and they can be sung with fewer vocal resources and by either men or women.

The chorales in the latter half of the book should not be left until last to be learned. They ought to be learned together with the other songs. One ought especially to teach many of the chorales to the children in the schools at the same time as they sing the best of the first 60 songs.[3]

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[3] The book is divided into 3 sections, the first of which is aimed specifically at the children's level.

One should remember that Nos. 155, and on, are arranged (4 parts) so that all the voices should be used if one is going to sing any of them.

The book can of course be used simply to play out of for the sake of playing, or for accompaniment. Perhaps, I should add that when the harmony is used no one should sing notes that do not belong to these harmonies.

Since many have suggested it, I have added a Practical Singing Method, which is based primarily on Joh. D. Behrens' Sanglaere for Skoler.[4] I hope that it will make the book more useful. In the Method, I have tried to include what was necessary and no more, to make it so easily understandable that it will serve not only teachers and pupils but also those who want to study on their own. It can be seen that I have emphasized a good foundation. Before beginning to teach singing one should study the Singing Method well so that he can use it to advantage in his instruction, using his time well to meet the needs of his pupils.

If the book can contribute in any degree to awakening in our people the feeling for good singing and music in general, and in particular to promote the taste for our good church tunes and for the active, lively participation of the congregation in singing, one of my dearest

4. Singing Method for Schools (Christiania, 1868).

wishes will be fulfilled.

Jefferson Prairie Parsonage (Clinton, Wisconsin) in December, 1877.

E. Jensen

PLATE XXIX

Foreword to Rhytmisk Koralbog (1904)

Forbemerkninger.

Der har fra forskjellige sider været sterke krav paa, at vi skulde faa udarbeidet en koralbog i rhytmisk form. Der, hvor denne form har været prøvet, har det vist sig, hvorledes salmesangen ved den fik et før ukjendt liv, og at man ikke vilde ønske sig tilbage til den gamle, slæbende sang, som kom ind i kirken i rationalismens tid.

I de Dage, da den lutherske kirke fik navn af "den syngende kirke", var det den rhytmiske form, som brugtes, og da var det menighederne, som sang.

Det blev da af kirkeraadet paalagt synodens formand at faa en komite valgt til at sørge for udgivelsen af en saadan koralbog. Da der, saavidt vidstes, ikke iblandt os fandtes nogen, som havde de fornødne historiske og musikalske forudsætninger til en ny, selvstændig udarbeidelse af en saadan bog, blev det efter samraad med flere i sagen interesserede besluttet at faa en komite til at gjennemgaa saa meget som muligt af, hvad der i de forskjellige lutherske kirker fra kompetente hænder allerede forelaa færdigt, og deraf efter bedste skjøn at gjøre et udvalg for bogen. Det var ikke formaalet at faa noget nyt, men at benytte, hvad der af autoriteter paa dette felt har været givet kirken i de forskjellige lutherske lande.

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Komiteen gjennemgik derfor saa omhyggelig, som den kunde, hvad der forelaa i anerkjendte tyske, danske, norske og amerikanske koralbøger, navnlig de tyske samlinger af J. Zahn og J. G. Herzog, de danske af T. Laub, de norske af L. M. Lindeman og E. Hoff, og de tysk-amerikanske af H. F. Hölter og Endlich, samt forskjellige amerikanske koralbøger. Desuden samledes et lidet udvalg af engelske salmemelodier, tagne af forskjellige bøger, til brug, hvor de trænges.

Det vil maaske paa mange steder indvendes, at melodierne i denne skikkelse ikke kan synges, fordi de er saa vanskelige, at menighederne ikke vil kunne lære dem. Men hvad der har været gjort andensteds, baade i Tyskland, Danmark og Amerika, kan vel ogsaa gjøres iblandt os, forudsat at man ikke begynder med uvilje og med den afgjorte mening, at "det gaar ikke". Vi har erfaring for, at naar man har sunget melodierne nogle gange i denne form, vil man blive glad i dem og synes, at man aldrig før har vidst, hvad der var i disse gamle salmemelodier.

De allerfleste melodier er optagne i samme form, i hvilken de er kjendte hos os — naar rhytmen frasees. Et par, som ikke fandtes i rhytmisk form, har komiteen besørget rhytmiserede. Enkelte steder har teksten nødvendiggjort en liden tillempning. Nogle faa melodier er satte lavere for at lette sangen.

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PLATE XXIX

En del melodier har den saakaldte "skiftende rhytme", og kan ikke faa regelmæssig taktinddeling uden at "melodierne derved overskjæres" og gjøres mindre let læselige. De er her inddelte efter rhytmen. Paa denne maade vil de ingen vanskelighed volde. Man give kun hver enkelt node den varighed, som tilkommer den. Med hensyn til salmernes tempo maa man søge at gaa efter melodiens karakter og salmens indhold — ikke for langsom, men heller ikke jage ivei, og ikke tro, at fordi der er mange halvnoder i en melodi, maa den synges som en gravsang.

Hvor takttegnet er 𝄵 tælles der efter halve noder, der da tages omtrent ligesaa hurtig som kvartnoder, hvor takttegnet er 𝄴

De sange, som er samlede i et tillæg, er for en stor del salmemelodier, udsatte for firstemmig sang. Der er faa ting, som en menighed har større hygge af at høre; men det er selvsagt, at saadan sang ikke maa træde istedenfor menighedssang, og at de derfor kun passer for korsang.

I de historiske oplysninger om melodierne har der især været lagt vegt paa efter de bedste os tilgjængelige kilder at meddele: 1) Naar melodierne er blevne til eller optagne til kirkebrug, og 2) fra hvem udsætningen i denne koralbog er tagen. Hvor der ikke forelaa paalidelige oplysninger om, hvem der har skrevet melodien, er der blot sat aarstallet, da den blev kjendt.

Komiteen erkjender taknemmelig den store beredvillighed, med hvilken en saadan autoritet i salmesangen som hr. Thomas Laub i Kjøbenhavn dels har tilladt brugen af sine arbeider, dels har udsat nye melodier for denne bog. Ligeledes takker den The Concordia Publishing Co., St. Louis, The John Anderson Publishing Co. og The Engberg Holmberg Co., Chicago, The Century Co., New York, og The Oliver Ditson Co., Boston, som alle har tilladt den at benytte de forlagsskrifter, af hvilke de forskjellige koraler og sange er tagne.

Komiteen haaber, at den ikke mod sin vilje er traadt nogens ret for nær. Skulde dette alligevel være tilfælde, vil den venligst bede sig underrettet derom, forat sagen kan rettes paa.

Paa komiteens vegne,

MARIE KOREN.

August 1903.

Foreword to

Rhytmisk Koralbog (1904)

The strong desire to issue a chorale book in rhythmic form has been expressed from various quarters. Where this form has been tried hymn singing has shown vitality hitherto unknown, and those who have experienced this would not return to the old sluggish method of singing which came into the church with rationalism.

In the days when the Lutheran church received the name "the singing church," it was the rhythmic form of the chorales that was used, and it was the congregations that sang.

The church council, therefore instructed the synod's president [U. V. Koren] to select a committee to draft such a chorale book. Since there was no one among us, as far as we knew, who had the necessary musical and historical qualifications to work out a new, independent book, it was decided, after consultation with other interested parties, to investigate as far as possible what had already been done by competent people in other Lutheran churches and to make the best possible choices from these books. It was not our purpose to get something new but to use what had been given to the church by musically qualified authorities in different Lutheran countries.

The committee, therefore, investigated as diligently as they were able what was to be found in recognized German, Danish, Norwegian and American chorale books, such as the German collections of J. Zahn and J. G. Herzog, the Danish of Thomas Laub, the Norwegian of L. M. Lindeman and E. Hoff and the German-American of H. F. Hölter and J. Endlich, besides different American chorale books. In addition were assembled a small number of English hymn tunes for use where needed.

It will perhaps be said in many places that the melodies in this form are unsingable because they are so difficult that the congregations cannot learn them. But what has been done elsewhere, e.g. in Germany, Denmark and America, can certainly be done also among us, provided one does not begin with a negative attitude and the preconceived idea that "it just won't work". We have experienced that when one has sung the melodies a few times in this form he will like them and will realize that he never before knew how much was contained in these old hymn tunes.

Most of the melodies are given in the form in which we know them, except for the rhythm. A couple, which could not be found in rhythmic form, have been given a rhythmic form by the committee. In a few places the text has had to be adjusted slightly. A few of the melodies have been set lower to make them easier to sing.

Some of the melodies have the so-called "alternating rhythms", and would not fit into the usual metrical divisions without having the melody overlap the bar line, thereby making the hymn harder to read. They have been set here in keeping with their own rhythm. In this way they should cause no difficulty. One simply gives each note its allotted value. With regard to the tempo of the hymns one must try to adjust it to the character of the contents of hymn and melody--not too slow, but then not too fast either; nor should one feel that because a melody has many half notes in it it should be sung like a funeral hymn.

Where the signature is ¢ the half note gets the value of a quarter note with a C signature.

The songs which are gathered in a supplement are for the most part hymns which have been set for four-voiced part singing. There are few things that a congregation gets more joy (hygge) out of than this; but it goes without saying that such songs must not take the place of congregational singing, and that they, therefore, are usable only for the choir.

In the historical information about the melodies, taken from the best sources available, stress has been laid on showing, 1) when the melodies were written or taken into church use, and 2) the source for the setting used in this chorale book. Where it was not possible to say definitely who wrote the melody, its date only has been entered, when it was known.

The committee acknowledges with thanks the willingness with which such an authority in hymnody as Thomas Laub in Copenhagen has allowed the use of his works (arrangements) and composed new melodies for this book. Likewise, thanks are due the Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, The John Anderson Publishing Company and the Engberg-Holmberg Co., Chicago, The Century Company, New York, and the Oliver Ditson Co., Boston, all of whom have allowed use of chorales from their publications.

The committee hopes that they have not unwittingly encroached upon any rights. If this should have happened it is hoped that the committee will be informed so that the matter can be righted.

On behalf of the committee,

August 1903 Marie Koren

PLATE XXX

M2062
.C55F3

Foreword to Christiansen,
Fem Koraler, 1905

Forord.

Ludvig Erk (1850) i sin Udgave af "Bachs Choralgesänge und geistliche Arien" beklager, at man i tidligere Udgaver af samme har bekymret sig mindre om at gjengive Koralerne saa nær som muligt efter Originalen, men derimod gjengivet dem i en Koralbog for Orgel eller Piano efter de Tilsnit og Former, som ved de Tider var brugelige. (Für den Gebrauch auf der Orgel oder dem Clavir nach dem damals üblichen Zuschnitt zu formen). Han siger videre: For saadant Brug havde J. S. Bach ikke arrangeret sine Koraler; de var derimod arrangeret for firstemmig Sang, og de hørte som Regel til og var brugt som Dele af hans Oratorier, Kantater og Motetter. Og naar J. E. Matthew siger i sin Musikhistorie, Side 157, at disse Koraler var skrevet forat ogsaa Menigheden kunde ta Del, saa vil Læseren forstaa, at Titelbladet til nærværende Koraler er berettiget.

Joh. Seb. Bach arrangerte de fleste paa hans Tid brugelige Koraler, og der har ikke været nogen musikalsk Størrelse til denne Tid, som ikke har anerkjendt ham som den lærdeste Kontrapunktist, der nogensinde har levet. Om man ønsker noget Kjendskab til denne Mester, kan man læse Historien eller en af de mange Biografier, som er at faa i Handelen.

Af de Koraler, som er blit til efter Bach, og som er i Brug blandt os, kjender ikke Udg. til nogen firstemmig Udsætning i kontrapunktisk Bearbeidelse. To af disse Koraler — en fra den danske og en fra den norske Periode — er her arrangeret for firstemmig Sang af Udg. og er en Prøve paa, hvorledes disse Salmer vil ta sig ud i denne Stil.

Kan nogen gjøre Udg. opmerksom paa et bedre Arrangement, eller give Raad med Hensyn til en bedre Stemmeføring, vil dette bli modtat med Taknemmelighed. Det ligger paa Udgiverens Hjerte at fremme og forbedre Kirkesangen, ikke til sin egen Ære, men til Guds Ære og Menighedens Bedste.

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Appendix B

The Service in the Church Ritual of 1685[1]

In churches that had an organ, the organist began to play a short prelude right after the third ringing of the church bells. During this prelude the pastor presented himself before the altar and donned his robes, which included an alb and a chasuble. Where there was no organ the pastor performed this ceremony during the third ringing of the bells.

1. Opening prayer, followed by Our Father, read by a precentor from the front of the church while pastor and congregation knelt.

2. Kyrie, one of three kyrie hymns used in different seasons: usually *Kyrie Gud Fader alsomhøyeste Trøst* (*Kyrie fons bonitatis*[2]), but, from Christmas to Candlemas (Feb. 2), *Kyrie Gud Fader af Himmerig*, and from Easter until Pentecost, *Kyrie Gud Fader, forbarme dig over os*[3].

3. Gloria, in hymn form, *Alleeneste Gud i Himmerig* (*Allein Gott in der Höh*). The pastor started with the first two lines and the congregation joined in.

4. Salutation: Pastor: The Lord be with you.
   Choir: And with thy spirit.

5. Collect, chanted by the pastor, to which choir and congregation sang Amen.

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[1] *Dannemarkes og Norges Kirke-Ritual* (Kjøbenhavn, 1762), pp. 2-39.

[2] Where they exist, Latin or German originals of the hymns will be noted, but only the first time they are mentioned.

[3] The last two are from the little litanies for Christmas and Easter respectively. J. N. Skaar, *Norsk Salmehistorie* I (Bergen, 1879), p. 527.

6. Epistle, chanted by the pastor.

7. Short hymn, chosen to harmonize with the Epistle text.[4]

8. Hymn, usually Nu bede vi den Hellig Aand (Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist); but, from Christmas to Candlemas: first half of sequence, Nu lader os alle takke Gud vår Herre (Grates nunc omnes), then Lovet vaere du Jesu Christ (Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ), a hymn paraphrase of the sequence, first stanza only, sung 3 times, then the second half of the sequence, beginning Hannem bør altid; from Easter to Pentecost, the sequence Jesus for os ofret (Victimae paschali laudes), into the middle of which was inserted 1 stanza, sung 3 times, of Christ stod op af Døde (Christ ist erstanden), this being substituted on Ascension by Christ til Himmels monne fare, sung 3 times, and once on the following Sunday.[5]

9. (Salutation, as in No. 4)[6]

10. Gospel, chanted by pastor, before which the choir sang God be praised for his glad tidings, or Praise and glory be to thee, O Lord[7].

11. Creed, in hymn form, Vi troe allesammen paa een Gud (Wir glauben all an einen Gott), begun by the

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[4] This hymn was sometimes omitted in favor of organ or choir music. Svend Borregaard, Danmarks og Norges kirkeritual of 1685 (København, 1953), p. 108. The Ritual (p. 317) specifies the performing of marriages at this point.

[5] The custom of inserting the versified paraphrase of the sequence into the body of the original sequence was a carry-over from the time that the sequences were sung antiphonally. They were sung in Latin by the choir, the stanzas of the vernacular paraphrase being sung by the congregation between the verses of the original. Borregaard, op. cit., p. 109.

[6] Borregaard (p. 110) claims that the omission of the Salutation here was an oversight. It was later used.

[7] This second form, a fusion of the ancient versicles, "Glory be to thee, O Lord" and "Praise be to thee, O Christ" soon ceased to be used. Borregaard, p. 110. Its use was re-introduced in the liturgical restoration of 1889 in Norway.

pastor, the congregation joining in to the end.

12. Sermon:
    a. Hymn, 1 or 2 stanzas based on the Gospel text where a congregation knew a sufficient number of hymns.
    b. Exhortation to people to pray for God's blessing and help.
    c. Our Father. This was prayed silently by all, except on festivals when it was read aloud.
    d. Festival hymn verse, sung 3 times on each of the first days of the major festivals, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, once on the second festival days, likewise once on Ascension and the Sunday following. The hymns were, respectively, *Et lidet Barn saa lystelig* *(Dies est laetitiae)* *Christ stod op af Døde*, *Nu bede vi den Hellig Aand* and *Christ til Himmels monne fare*.
    e. Gospel, read
    f. Sermon, not to last over 1 hour, and during which the offering plates for the poor were passed among the congregation.
    g. General prayer.
    h. Our Father.
    i. Announcements, if any.[8]
    j. Aaronic benediction.[9]

13. Hymn (1 verse, except for b and g).

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[8] According to Borregaard (p. 114) they had difficulty even in 1685 setting bounds on necessary announcements.

[9] In his book, *Kirkens Gudstjenesteliv fra oldtiden til idag* (Oslo, 1953), Johan Johnstad makes the point, in his chapter on the Ritual of 1685, that the Ritual hardened into an accepted custom the tendency which already existed of separating the preaching service from, and exalting it above, that of the sacrament of the altar. In evidence he points to all the liturgical trappings surrounding the sermon---"a whole service in itself" (p. 119). See also note 13, p.

a. Christmas to Candlemas: *Lovet vaere du Jesu Christ*.
b. New Year's Day: *Guds Godhed vil vi prise* (*Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen*)[10].
c. Easter to Ascension: *Christ stod op af Døde*.
d. Ascension: *Christi til Himmels monne fare*.
e. Pentecost: *Christ den Hellig Aand sende*.
f. All Saints: *Lover Gud i fromme Christne*.
g. St. Michael's and Thanksgiving: *O Gud vi love dig* (Te Deum).
h. Good Friday: *Jesus op paa Korset stod* (*Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund*).
i. All other Sundays: last stanza of *Nu er os Gud miskundelig* (*Es woll uns Gott genädig sein*).

Baptism took place at this point if there were any children to be baptized. The rite was closed with a hymn verse, *Hvo som tror og bliver døbt.*[11]

Offering processional, which did not take place each Sunday, but upon the following occasions:

a. The three high festivals, during which ceremony there was choir or organ music where possible, otherwise a hymn.
b. The Sundays (where it was still customary) when women, newly in church after childbirth, made a thanksgiving offering. In each case the procession was led by the women and children. The proceeds from these offerings were considered part of the perquisites of the pastor (Borregaard, p. 116).

Communion followed, if there were those present who wanted to commune. Otherwise the service ended as follows:

14. Salutation (as in No. 4), the pastor meanwhile

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[10] The last half of the final stanza, a proper for the new year, was repeated 3 times--a custom which persisted in country districts in Norway for 200 years. Skaar, op. cit., p. 437.

[11] This was later replaced by Kingo's *Enhver som tror og bliver døpt*. Borregaard, p. 116.

having doffed the chasuble.
15. Collect for the word, to which the choir sang Amen.
16. Salutation (as in No. 4).
17. Aaronic benediction (with the sign of the cross)[12] to which the people answered Amen.
18. Closing hymn, harmonizing with the Gospel text, during which the pastor removed the remainder of his liturgical garments.
19. Closing prayer.
20. Our Father

The order for Communion was as follows:[13]

A. Communion hymn.
B. Exhortation to the communicants.
C. Our Father, "chanted loudly" by the pastor.

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12. The sign of the cross was added, in practice, to the final benediction to give added significance to it (Borregaard, p. 114).

13. The Ritual, pp. 159-169. The displacing of the Communion from its traditional position of centrality in the mass is heightened in the Church Ritual of 1685 by the fact that the Communion liturgy occupies a different chapter from the one dealing with the rest of the service, as do baptism and the other ministerial acts, such as confession, the churching of women, marriage, etc.. Borregaard (p. 172) says The Ritual was merely following the format of Luther's catechism, a practice common in liturgical agenda of the time. By making the preaching service central the Ritual was recognizing prevailing custom. In effect, it normalized a liturgy out of varying liturgical practices, setting a standard which is still in evidence today. Borregaard (p. 171) points out that the prime purpose of the Ritual was to achieve a uniform practice throughout the church, the preceding 150 years having been characterized by a great deal of confusion. The dichotomous aspect of the Ritual is discussed in more detail by Oscar Moe (op. cit., p. 34 et passim), Johan Johnstad (op. cit., pp. 114-119) and Helge Faehn who, in his review of Borregaard's book, criticizes him for not dealing more thoroughly with this question. "Nytt fra den dansk-norsk liturgihistorie", in Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift, 54. aarg., (Oslo, 1953), p. 232.

D. Words of institution, chanted in like manner with the people responding Amen.[14]
E. Distribution of elements, the men first, then the women, during which the people sang hymns until all had communed. The hymns: *O Guds Lam uskyldig* (*O Lamm Gottes*), 3 times, *Jesus Christus er vår Salighed* (*Jesus Christus unser Heiland*), *Hjelp Gud at jeg nu kunde* (*Hilf Gott das mir gelinge*), *Jesu søde Hukommelse* (*Jesu dulcis memoria*).
F. Hymn of thanksgiving, *Gud vaere lovet* (*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*), 1 stanza only.
G. Salutation, with the people answering.[15]

The service then concluded as shown above, Nos. 16-20.

One hundred years after the Ritual was published there was agitation among some of the Norwegian clergy to revise the liturgy. Pastors in country churches generally wanted changes because the service was too long. Many of them served more than one congregation and they did not get around to each of them every Sunday. As a consequence, a backlog of ministerial functions piled up which the pastors had to discharge during the course of the service when they did get to them. Helge Faehn cites what was probably an extreme case of one pastor who reported conducting a Sunday service which began at eight in the morning and finally terminated at four in the afternoon.[16] City pastors, especially those in the east and south,[17] wanted the liturgy revised for other reasons. They wanted permission to select their own texts for preaching, to use different hymns and prayers.[18]

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[14] The rubric for C and D specifically emphasizes that these parts be clearly audible to all. This was in reaction to the Roman custom of saying the Words of Institution secretly. These two portions came to be known in the Danish church as the "Danish canon". Borregaard, p. 23.

[15] The rubrics specify that the people answer this time. It might be a printer's error, but if it is, it probably reflects a general latitude in practice, people, choir or precentor answering the pastor, depending upon local circumstances. See further Helge Faehn, *Ritualspørsmalet i Norge 1785-1813* (Oslo, 1956), pp. 48-49, especially note 46, where he says the custom of leaving all congregational responses to the precentor was standard practice in the nineteenth century, and even persists in places in Norway today.

In 1798 a hymnal was issued which was given the name, Evangelisk-christelig Salmebog (Evangelical-Christian Hymnal) and its immediate use in the churches was authorized, though not prescribed. This necessitated a change in the law governing the use of the Ritual, since the new hymnal lacked several of the hymns which were prescribed for the service. Undoubtedly, the discontent voiced in various places with regard to the service also had a determinative effect. Accordingly, in 1802 a re-

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16. Ibid., p. 50, note 54, also p. 286. This problem of time was, of course, also present 100 years before and undoubtedly accounted in large part for the evolution of a communion-less service. Borregaard (p. 117) holds this view.

17. These parts of the country were in closer touch with reform-conscious Denmark.

18. Ibid., pp. 286-287.

script came out which allowed any congregation using the hymnal to shorten the service to the following formula:[19]

1. Opening prayer.
2. Hymn, which was to be either *Vi troe allesammen* or *Aleneste Gud*, the two to be sung alternately on succeeding Sundays, the pastor starting and the congregation joining in.[20]
3. Collect, chanted.
4. Epistle, chanted.
5. Hymn, the *Hauptlied*, to be at least 3 stanzas long.
6. Gospel, chanted.
7. Hymn, *Dig bede vi O Hellig Aand* (*Nun bitten wir*).
8. Sermon

The rest of the service continued as before.

However, this abbreviation was still not entirely satisfying, so a further shortening came into general use. It consisted in omitting the Gospel and following Hymn, since the Gospel was read from the pulpit anyway.[21]

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[19] O. Moe, op. cit., pp. 40-41 and Faehn, op. cit., pp. 82-85. In its essence, this formula was translated into English and printed by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America in a book, called *Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Decorah, Iowa, 1882). It was reissued, unaltered, in 1891.

[20] The present writer has not had access to the original rescript to verify the wording of this order. O. Moe (pp. 41 and 42) says that both hymns were to be sung each Sunday. Johnstad (op. cit., p. 124) has the order as it appears here, as does A. O. T. Hellerström, *Liturgik* (Stockholm, 1940), p. 141 and Faehn, p. 85. In any case, it was not long before both hymns gave way, as fixed hymns, to a freely chosen opening hymn. See above, p. 53.

[21] Since the same series of texts was used every year on the same Sunday, the people came to know them by heart. So, with a reading of the Gospel from the pulpit, an additional chanting of it from the altar became a purely ceremonial thing--which they then reserved for festival Sundays. Faehn, pp. 49-51, 54, 286.

This was known as the "half mass" (halv messe),[22] and came to be the regular order of the Sunday service throughout the nineteenth century in Norway and Norwegian--America, even where the Evangelical-Christian hymnal was not used, the "full mass" being reserved for the high festivals.[23]

Discontent with the liturgy became more and more pronounced throughout the century and resulted finally in a major reworking of the entire service. The revision was examined by a royal commission and given royal authorization in 1887. In 1889 it was published in Alterbog for den norske Kirke (Kristiania). The complete form is as follows:

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[22] Ibid., p. 49 ff. Faehn says this method for shortening the service was in use as early as the late 16th century.

[23] What had begun as an expedient was thus elevated to a norm by the Rescript of 1802, and later supported and perpetuated by the inclusion of "the shorter form" (den kortere form) in the liturgical revision of 1889 (see below). Faehn, whose book deals with questionnaires regarding liturgical reform circulated to the Norwegian clergy in the period 1785-1813, says (p. 282) that the most striking aspect of the answers from the pastors is the general lack of understanding of the significance of the church's liturgy. This was true throughout all of the 18th century. Their suggestions for reform, with few exceptions, were based on individual taste.

1. Opening prayer, read by the precentor in the front of the church.
2. Opening hymn, chosen in keeping with the season of the church year on festival Sundays, on ordinary Sundays usually a hymn of prayer.
3. Confession of sin (not followed by an absolution).
4. Kyrie, first or second verse of the Litany.[24]
5. Gloria, sung by the pastor and congregation:

   Pastor: Glory be to God on high,
   Cong.: And on earth peace, good will toward men.[25]
   This was followed by Alenest Gud i Himmerig[26] on the 3 high festivals, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. During Lent the Gloria might be omitted.

6. Salutation, sung by the pastor and congregation.
7. Collect, chanted, the congregation singing Amen.
8. Epistle, read.
9. Short hymn, harmonizing with the Epistle, or a general hymn of praise.
10. The ancient Gospel,[27] read, after which the congre-

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[24] The American version adds "or a Litany hymn".

[25] Both Kyrie and Gloria were now restored to their original prose form, but the Gloria was abbreviated.

[26] The American version merely says "an appropriate hymn".

[27] In 1887 and 1888 two other series of texts were added to the ancient pericope in the interest of expanding the subject matter for preaching. Each series thus came up every third year (see above, p. and note 6 2 that page regarding earlier complaints of the clergy about the texts). However, only the ancient series was read from the altar. In the years when this series was used as a basis for the sermon, the Gospel was not read from the altar, since the text was always read from the pulpit. These texts were printed and issued separately before the official altar book came out in 1889. They appeared in three separate editions in 1887 and included in the back of the book the music for the new order of service so that congregations that wished to do so could begin immediately to use the new service. The books were De nye Søndagstexter, samt den nye Høimesseliturgi og Skriftmaalsordning,

gation sang "Praise and glory be to thee, O Lord" or "Blessed be the Lord for His glad tidings".[28]

11. Creed, said by the pastor, the congregation singing Amen. Or the congregation might join the pastor in saying the Creed also.[29]
12. The Hymn of the Service (Høimessesalme).[30]
13. Sermon:
    a. Prayer.
    b. An appropriate hymn stanza on the 3 high festivals and Ascension.
    c. Gospel text, read.
    d. Sermon.
    e. Gloria patri, said by the pastor.
    f. Prayer of the Church (The General Prayer).
    g. Our Father.
    h. Announcements of specifically churchly nature (rent kirkelige Art).[31]
    i. Apostolic benediction.
14. Hymn after the Sermon.

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27. (con't) Texter af Guds Ord osv. and Kollekter, Epistler og Evangelier, den nye Skriftemaals Ordning og den nye Høimesse Liturgi. All three books were published in Kristiania.

28. Cf. No. 10 of the Church Ritual of 1685, above, p. 349

29. This was undoubtedly the origin of the inconsistent custom in the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America of the congregation's joining in saying the Creed and singing the Amen.

30. The Alterbog of 1889 preserved in its wording the idea which took root in the Reformation liturgies (but which had its inception in the medieval sequences) of there being one hymn in the service which was considered pre-eminent--the Hauptlied. In the course of time, as the sermon increasingly usurped the spotlight in the service, the Hauptlied shifted from its traditional spot following the Epistle to its present place before the sermon, where its choice was based on what the pastor was about to say in the sermon.

31. The American version omits h, going from g directly to i.

At this point came baptism and catechisation, upon occasion, hymn stanzas being sung before and after.

15. Either a. a hymn stanza before Communion,
    or b. the Preface, sung antiphonally between pastor and congregation.[32]
16. Exhortation.
17. Our Father, chanted by the pastor, to which the congregation sang Amen.
18. Words of Institution, chanted by the pastor.
19. Distribution of the elements.
20. Hymn of thanksgiving.
21. Collect of thanksgiving, chanted by the pastor.
22. Salutation, as in No. 6.
23. Aaronic benediction, chanted by the pastor, to which the congregation sang Amen.
24. Closing hymn.
25. Closing prayer, which might be concluded with Our Father, read by the precentor.[33] When Communion was not celebrated, Nos. 15-20 were omitted, and a Collect for the Word was substituted for No. 21.

The shorter order of service began as did the longer, and continued thus:

1. Opening prayer, concluding with Our Father.
2. Opening hymn. It was suggested that two be used, a Kyrie hymn, followed by a hymn of praise.
3. Omitted.
4. Omitted.
5. Omitted.

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[32] The Preface, restored now to the evangelical service, had not appeared in a Danish-Norwegian order since it appeared as an alternate form in the Malmø Mass of 1528. Chr. Brunn, *Psalmebøger fra Reformationstiden* (Kjøbenhavn, 1865-66), pp. 122-123. See above p. , note .

p. 53 n. 4

[33] The post of the precentor eventually ceased to exist, as congregations installed organs to lead the singing. When this happened, the pastor assumed the reading of the prayers at the beginning and end of the service.

6. Salutation, as usual.
7. Collect, chanted.
8. Epistle, read.
9. Short hymn, on the 3 high festivals.
10. Gospel, before which the congregation sang "Blessed be the Lord..."[34]
11. Creedal hymn.
12. The Hymn of the Service.
13. Same as No. 13 above, except that Our Father is added before b, and the Aaronic benediction is used.

No. 14 to the end are the same as in the longer form, except that the Preface is not provided as an alternative form.

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[34] See No. 10 above, p.349. There still seemed to be some confusion as to whether the versicle should be sung in anticipation before the Gospel or as a thanksgiving after it.

The Lutheran Free Church Ritual

Since the Lutheran Free Church consisted of a loose federation of congregations, it could not adopt a ritual and bind it upon the congregations. However, the need for some form of ritual was recognized, and in 1902 the liturgical committee proposed to the delegates assembled for the annual meeting the agenda below. In arriving at their model agenda the committee had been guided by three principles: 1) to avoid using the worn out forms inherited from the state church of Norway, 2) to substitute new and better forms, 3) to provide for as much congregational participation as possible. The committee further urged that the congregations voluntarily cooperate in the matter of worship forms so that the church would not be plagued by too many diverse liturgies.

The service:

1. Short opening hymn.
2. Confession of sin.
3. Confession of faith.
4. Hymn on the Word.
5. Lection from the Old Testament, preferably a psalm read responsively between the pastor and people.
6. Hymn of the Day.
7. Sermon:
    a. Prayer
    b. On the 3 high festivals an appropriate hymn stanza
    c. Reading of the text.
    d. Sermon.
    e. Gloria patri.

8. Prayer of the Church, closed with Our Father.
9. Hymn stanza.

At this point baptisms and catechisation of confirmands were to take place, preceded and followed by hymn stanzas.

10. Hymn stanza before communion (when communion was held).
11. Short sermon on a free text.
12. Call for communicants to come forward.
13. Exhortation.
14. Our Father.
15. Words of institution.
16. Distribution.
17. Collect.
18. Benediction.
19. Closing hymn.

To guard the church against becoming too formal the committee also proposed an outline for an informal type of service to be held on Sunday afternoons. It consisted of hymn singing, free prayers, scripture reading and the giving of personal testimonies regarding spiritual experiences.[1]

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[1] Beretning om Den lutherske Frikirkes 6te Aarsmøde (Minneapolis, 1902), pp. 31-36. In actual practice many of the Lutheran Free churches followed an order which was similar to the shorter form of the Norwegian Lutheran service.

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